OCTOBER 9, 2017

TIME

WHY HE ALWAYS BOUNCES BACK

BY ALEX ALTMAN AND SEAN GREGORY

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The Chevrolet Sonic, Chevrolet Tahoe, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2017 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 35,186 U.S. original owners of 2014 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. The Chevrolet Malibu, Chevrolet Equinox, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2016 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 33,560 U.S. original owners of 2013 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2015. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com.

FIND NEW ROADS™

CHEVROLET

TIME
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Photograph by Lynsey Addario—Verbatim for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photo-illustration by Brobel Design for TIME. Player: Jim Davis—The Boston Globe/Getty Images; field: Sandro Di Carlo Darsa—PhotoAlto/Getty Images*

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What you said about ...

STATE OF THE DEMOCRATS Philip Elliott's Oct. 2 cover story inspired some readers to share their tips for the struggling Democratic Party. Leon Anderson of Doylestown, Pa., for example, said the party needs to look for candidates who can "electrify the electorate." But others argued that the problem is with the system, not the party. Kyle Kinney of Boscobel, Wis., pointed to gerrymandering, while William Becker, executive director of the Presidential Climate Action Project, urged consideration of voter suppression. But Jane Calvani of Philadelphia saw a bright side for Democrats in media coverage of the party's problems. "I see this as invigorating Dems," she tweeted, "not defeating us!"

> 'I am a Democrat and feel we certainly do need a new face to lead the party.'
>
> MARJORIE MCNEIL, Evans, Ga.

THE STUDENT WHO KILLED HER SON Belinda Luscombe's Oct. 2 piece in the View, which made the case for forgiving Michelle Jones—who made news by enrolling in a Ph.D. program after her release from prison for killing her son—sparked heated debate on social media. Tania Bradkin, a Los Angeles social worker, argued that Jones should have been portrayed primarily as a "child mother, born into poverty" who lacked resources to care for a disabled child, but Dominick Evans, a disability activist in New York City, worried that focusing on Jones rather than her son suggests that "disabled lives are not worth living." Meanwhile, Justine Wood of Maitland, Fla., criticized Luscombe for concentrating on forgiveness. "The better first question," she wrote, "is how can we help prevent this kind of thing from happening in the first place."

> 'It's fine to forgive people for horrific crimes, but don't make excuses for them.'
>
> BERNICE TOLBERT, Cleveland Heights, Ohio

THE INFLUENCERS The TIME video series of unique conversations between newsmakers is back with a new season—and a new episode in which former Fox News anchor Gretchen Carlson *(left)* and Silicon Valley executive Ellen Pao bond over their battles against harassment. As Carlson put it to Pao, "You and I sort of jumped off the cliff." Watch at **time.com/influencers** and hear more from Pao on page 56.

BONUS *TIME* **HEALTH**

Subscribe to TIME's free health newsletter and get a **weekly email full of news and advice to keep you well.** For more, visit **time.com/email**

HOW SALARIES STACK UP With a new interactive graphic from MONEY and TIME, you can compare your pay to the median people your age earn in different states. See it at **time.com/salary**

AGE	22	48	65
GENDER	male	female	female
STATE	La.	Calif.	Mass.
SALARY	**$20,068**	**$48,223**	**$55,074**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In For the Record (Sept. 18), we incorrectly stated that NASA has been tracking asteroids since 1890. NASA was created in 1958. In the same issue, a Ticker item wrongly stated that New Jersey Governor Chris Christie would name a replacement for Senator Bob Menendez if the Senator were convicted of corruption-related charges. In fact, this is only one of several possibilities. Also in the issue, in "The Philosopher King," we misidentified the title of Ethan Rarick. He is associate director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. In "The Angels of Irma" (Sept. 25), we mischaracterized the number of students affected by Hurricane Irma. The storm affected more than 2.4 million children across the Caribbean.

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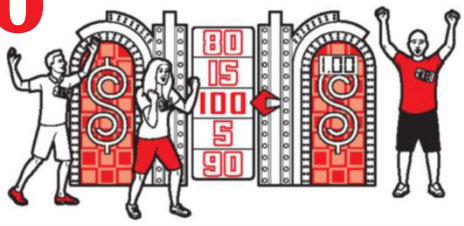
‘IT’S LIKE A KIDNEY STONE. PASS IT, PASS IT, PASS IT.’

RAND PAUL, U.S. Senator from Kentucky, echoing U.S. Representative Thomas Massie in criticizing his fellow Republicans’ insistence on quickly repealing the Affordable Care Act

$80,000

Total amount of money won by three contestants spinning the wheel on *The Price Is Right* on its Sept. 22 episode, the most money given away by the game on the show



‘We expected a better result.’

ANGELA MERKEL, re-elected German Chancellor, vowing on Sept. 24 to win back voters who put the far-right, anti-immigration Alternative for Germany party into Parliament for the first time in about 60 years

20%

Approximate percentage of **U.S. adolescents who report being diagnosed with at least one concussion,** according to a new study that was one of the first to survey teens instead of using ER data

‘If you do not Condemn this divisive Rhetoric you are Condoning it!!’

RICHARD SHERMAN, Seattle Seahawks cornerback, reacting to President Trump’s tweets calling on the NFL to fire players who don’t stand during the national anthem

Jared Leto
The actor stole the show at the Rock in Rio festival in Rio de Janeiro when he made a dramatic entrance via zip line

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Jared Kushner
President Trump’s son-in-law was found to be using a private email account for White House business

‘THERE IS A HIGH COST TO A BAD REPUTATION.’

DARA KHOSROWSHAHI, CEO of Uber, writing to employees about the London transport authority’s decision not to renew the company’s license to operate in the U.K. capital over concerns of a “lack of corporate responsibility”; Khosrowshahi later published an apology for Uber’s actions in a British newspaper

286

Number of counts of mischief with which a baggage handler at a Singapore international airport was charged after he allegedly **swapped hundreds of baggage tags,** sending luggage to the wrong destination

‘This is clearly a declaration of war.’

RI YONG HO, North Korean Foreign Minister, arguing that his government would be within its rights to shoot down U.S. warplanes whether or not they’re in the country’s airspace after President Trump threatened in a U.N. address to “totally destroy” North Korea

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SOURCES: CBS; THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION; METRO; POLITICO; THE VERGE; REUTERS; THE GUARDIAN

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The Brief

'BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ARE GUILTY OF USING PARTISAN GERRYMANDERING TO THEIR ADVANTAGE.' —PAGE 14

Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin briefs reporters during the U.N. General Assembly

AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

POLITICS

An unlikely salesman for the Republican Party's tax plan

By Zeke J. Miller

LIKE A NOVICE WAITER FACING unruly diners, Steven Mnuchin has spent the past six months trying to entice Washington with what should be an appetizing offering: tax reform. Huddled in closed-door sessions in ornate conference rooms across the capital, the Treasury Secretary has offered options, and taken orders, in a chaotic search for consensus on the Republican Party's long-sought legislative agenda item. But on Sept. 27, when Mnuchin and congressional Republicans emerged from the kitchen, what they put on the table amounted to a promise of dessert with little sense of when the main course would arrive, let alone what it would consist of.

The tax-reform package Mnuchin and his allies presented would slash corporate tax rates from 36% to 20%, raise the lowest tax bracket from 10% to 12% and increase the number of people who would pay no taxes. But the ultimate shape of the proposal—and its impact on middle- and lower-income Americans—was impossible to determine. The specifics on many deductions and the precise new income brackets are not yet on offer.

Despite the GOP's outward enthusiasm for the rollout, behind the scenes the concern among Republicans was palpable. Tax reform now represents the last, best hope for big-ticket legislation. Few expect the measure to take shape until early next year as Republicans must again try to reach agreement on what they actually want the big bill to be.

Helping to deliver that package is an improbable role for Mnuchin,

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDRES KUDACKI

a successful Goldman Sachs veteran turned Hollywood producer with a nine-figure net worth. He entered Donald Trump's orbit in April 2016 as his national finance chairman and then, weeks after Trump's victory, was nominated for the top spot at Treasury more for his personal ties with the President than his financial background. The job of Treasury Secretary is chiefly to be a Washington horse whisperer to the financial markets, to calm their nerves and guide their moves in accordance with Administration needs. At first things went well. Mnuchin won an early battle with Gary Cohn, a fellow ex-Goldman employee who is the director of the National Economic Council, to become the public face of tax reform. But that proved to be a mixed blessing. In impromptu fashion on April 21, Trump told the Associated Press that Mnuchin would announce details on tax reform the following week. The one-page plan hastily drawn up to meet Trump's surprise deadline proved to be even more amorphous than his campaign pledges.

Mnuchin's unforced errors would soon make matters worse. In June, Trump and much of the West Wing and Cabinet attended Mnuchin's black-tie wedding to Scottish actor Louise Linton. Senior Administration aides in attendance commented on the affair's opulence for days. That set the stage for increasing allegations by Administration critics and government watchdogs of extravagance. The Treasury Department's inspector general is reviewing Mnuchin and his wife's Aug. 21 flight on an Air Force jet to Fort Knox, Ky., where they were photographed watching the total eclipse of the sun. It is also examining Mnuchin's request, later withdrawn, to use an Air Force plane for his European honeymoon over the summer. (Mnuchin explained that he made the request to ensure that he had secure communications with the White House.)

The job of selling a tax-reform package that would seem to bust open the deficit to provide massive corporate tax breaks isn't going to get any easier. It hardly resonates with Trump's populist promises, and while the President went on offense, touting the plan at a rally in Indiana the day it was released, behind the scenes he is adding to the workload. In the days before the plan's release, Trump raised concerns that some of the provisions—especially the corporate tax cut—didn't go far enough, according to a White House official. He continued pushing for a 15% corporate tax rate after the so-called big six Republican negotiators had long ago set it aside for 20%.

All of which helps explain why Republicans on the Hill, starving for a legislative win, will soon take control of tax reform themselves through the committee process. Where that leaves Steven Mnuchin is unclear, but at this point, he shouldn't expect many tips. ◻

TICKER

Weiner sentenced over sexts

Former New York congressman Anthony Weiner was sentenced to 21 months in prison for sending sexually explicit messages to a 15-year-old girl. Past sexting scandals had already destroyed Weiner's career in Washington and his campaign to be mayor of New York City.

Macron pitches for stronger E.U.

French President Emmanuel Macron laid out a blueprint for how to reform the European Union in a speech seen as a challenge to the regional leadership of Germany's Angela Merkel. Macron called for greater military and economic integration so that the bloc could compete with the U.S. and China.

McCain: My cancer is "very serious"

In an interview on CBS's *60 Minutes*, Arizona Senator John McCain said his brain cancer was "very, very serious" and added that his prognosis was "very poor." McCain revealed that he had glioblastoma in July.

Target to raise minimum wage

Target is raising its minimum hourly wage to $11 per hour, up from $10. The discount retailer, which has 323,000 employees worldwide, also committed to raising the wage to $15 by the end of 2020.

TRANSPORTATION

Saudi women in the driver's seat

On Sept. 26, Saudi Arabia's King Salman lifted a ban on female drivers, reversing a long-held tradition of the patriarchy. —*Tara John*

GREEN LIGHT

Women have been forbidden from driving in Saudi Arabia for decades, with offenders fined, jailed or even beaten. But beginning next summer, licenses will be issued to any woman who applies for one, with no need for permission from a male guardian. The announcement follows decades of civil disobedience by female protesters demanding the right to drive.

CHANGING GEARS

The change of policy comes as Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman attempts to modernize and diversify the kingdom's oil-reliant economy. Boosting the workforce with women is his ultimate goal. But moves toward gender equality risk riling conservative Saudi clerics, who adhere to a rigidly patriarchal interpretation of Sunni Islamic teachings.

STUCK IN REVERSE

Licenses are a step in the right direction, but the kingdom still subjects women to plenty of other stringent rules. They are bound by a restrictive dress code, and guardianship laws give male relatives the right to prevent their wives, sisters or daughters from doing basic tasks like traveling, opening a bank account or having certain medical procedures.

DIGITS

1,300

Estimated number of unpaid parking tickets that North Korea's diplomatic mission to the U.N. has in New York City, according to reports; the fines date back to the 1990s and total about $156,000

DRIVER: FAISAL AL NASSER—REUTERS; METER: FBIMAGING/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; MOSQUITO: JAMES GATHANY—CDC/SMITH COLLECTION/GADO/GETTY IMAGES

FULL BLAST Powerful explosions can be seen at an ammunition depot on a military base in Kalynivka, central Ukraine, which caught fire late on Sept. 26. Ukrainian officials said they evacuated more than 30,000 people from the town, 120 miles southwest from Kiev, and turned off the electricity and gas supply there. A spokesperson for the Ukrainian Security Service said the fire was being treated as sabotage. *Photograph by Efrem Lukatsky—AP/REX/Shutterstock*

HEALTH

The 'super-malaria' on the rise in Southeast Asia

SCIENTISTS WARNED ON SEPT. 21 THAT A DRUG-resistant strain of malaria that has spread from Cambodia into southern regions of Vietnam "presents one of the greatest threats to the control and elimination" of the disease. Here's what to know:

DRUG RESISTANCE In 2008, medical researchers identified a strain of malaria apparently resistant to the cornerstone of antimalarial drugs, artemisinin, in Southeast Asia. This so-called super-malaria first emerged in Cambodia and has since been detected in Thailand and Laos, in addition to Vietnam. Now researchers at the Mahidol Oxford Tropical Medicine Research Unit in Bangkok say the strain has become resistant to artemisinin's partner drug, piperaquine.

FERTILE TERRITORY In April, Vietnam's Ministry of Health said the super-malaria had been reported in five provinces and could take root in the Mekong River basin. While the country had only three confirmed deaths from malaria in 2015, the most recent year for which data is available, more than 19,000 cases were reported. Resistance to malaria drugs could have severe consequences.

GLOBAL THREAT Researchers fear that if the drug-resistant strain spreads to Africa, where 92% of all malaria deaths occur, it could worsen what is already a major crisis there. The World Health Organization is rallying to fight multiple-drug resistance by eradicating the disease completely by 2030. But it remains a tricky proposal for something that is evolving so fast that it may not have a cure. —TARA JOHN

‹ *There were 212 million cases of malaria, which is spread by the bites of infected female* Anopheles *mosquitos, in 2015*

DATA

IS IMMIGRATION A GOOD THING?

That's the question pollster Ipsos put to citizens of 25 countries. Here, the percentages of respondents who agreed that immigration had a positive impact on their nation:

45%
Saudi Arabia

44%
India

40%
U.K.

38%
Australia

35%
U.S.

14%
France

5%
Hungary

TICKER

Fraud charges for NCAA coaches

Four NCAA assistant basketball coaches and an Adidas executive were among 10 people charged by federal authorities in a fraud and corruption probe into the use of bribes in the recruitment of student athletes.

Ireland to vote on abortion ban

Ireland's government said it would hold a referendum in 2018 on whether to relax the majority-Catholic country's strict constitutional ban on abortion. Termination is currently allowed only if the life of the mother is in danger.

Thailand's former PM sentenced to jail

Thailand's former Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra, whose regime was ousted in a 2014 coup, was sentenced to five years in jail in absentia. The country's supreme court found her guilty of mishandling a costly government rice-subsidy scheme.

More characters for Twitter users

Twitter announced that it is testing a new 280-character limit for posts by selected users, doubling the current limit. The social network's most prominent user, President Donald Trump, has not yet been granted the extra characters.

SUPREME COURT

Trump's travel ban might escape judgment

THE LEGAL BATTLE OVER PRESIDENT Donald Trump's controversial March ban on travel from six Muslim-majority countries has been put on hold. The day the order expired, Trump issued a new version that short-circuited a Supreme Court hearing on the ban scheduled for Oct. 10. Now the immigration and government lawyers readying for a fight at the highest court must help the Justices decide whether the case is even worth hearing.

Trump's new proclamation, unveiled on Sept. 24, imposes more tightly focused travel restrictions on five of the countries in the earlier ban—Iran, Libya, Somalia, Syria and Yemen—and adds three new nations: North Korea, Chad and Venezuela. Ever since Trump announced his original travel ban, just one week after taking office (and then revised it one month later), it has been mired in legal battles over whether it represents an unconstitutional ban on Muslims entering the U.S. Lower courts halted the policy before the Supreme Court agreed to take the case. The highest court then partially upheld the injunctions placed on it ahead of a final showdown in the fall.

But one day after Trump issued his new order, the Supreme Court announced it was removing the case from its schedule. The legal teams now have until Oct. 5 to file briefs on whether the move renders the matter moot.

The 8 countries in new Trump travel ban
(Countries in orange along with Sudan, not shown, were part of original ban)

In other words, the court wants to figure out whether the expiration of the contested travel ban and the issuance of a new order mean that the case is no longer a current dispute and therefore not subject to a ruling.

This doesn't mean the door is shut for the Supreme Court to hear a travel-ban case in the future. The court could put the same case back on its calendar after it receives the new briefs. But legal experts suspect the most likely outcome is that the court will decide that the case is effectively closed, thus avoiding a messy political fight. "I think the court never wanted this case," says Garrett Epps, a professor at the University of Baltimore School of Law. "The case is a stinker, and they would be happy to see the end of it."

Even so, the fight may continue. Rights groups could choose to file lawsuits against the new order, which might start working their way through the judicial system. Those affected by the latest iteration of the ban may yet get their day in court. —TESSA BERENSON

Milestones

DIED
Soul singer **Charles Bradley,** who battled homelessness and poverty, and whose highly acclaimed debut album *No Time for Dreaming* was released in 2011. He was 68.

ANNOUNCED
His eventual resignation from the U.S. Senate by **Tennessee Republican Bob Corker,** who chairs the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee; he said he will not seek re-election next year.

RETIRED
Equifax CEO Richard Smith, after a massive data breach that exposed the personal information of up to 143 million people.

GRADUATED
A **female Marine officer** from the U.S. Marines Corps' demanding Infantry Officer Course, for the first time. The lieutenant, who wants to keep her identity private, is the U.S.'s first female infantry officer.

REVOKED
Uber's **license to operate in London.** The city's transportation regulator said the ride-hailing app showed "a lack of corporate responsibility" on safety and security. The company is appealing the decision.

APPEARED
British royal **Prince Harry with his American girlfriend Meghan Markle, an actor,** officially together in public for the first time. The pair were at an Invictus Games event in Toronto.

BRADLEY: RICK MADONIK—TORONTO STAR/GETTY IMAGES

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Computers made gerrymandering worse. Can they fix it?

By Emily Barone

HERE'S HOW DEMOCRACY IS SUPPOSED TO WORK: Citizens go to the polls to choose who will represent them, and when all the seats are filled, the legislative body looks roughly proportional to the makeup of voters. But that's not what happened in Wisconsin's 2012 election, when Republicans took more than 60% of the seats in the state assembly despite getting less than half the votes. That outcome—and similar results in five other states that year—occurred largely thanks to computer-driven partisan gerrymandering.

On Oct. 3, the Supreme Court will hear the case of *Gill v. Whitford*, which could decide whether that redistricting plan was constitutional and by extension whether the practice of partisan gerrymandering should be reined in.

North Carolina's 12th Congressional District was drawn in 2011 but ruled unconstitutional in 2016 on the basis of racial gerrymandering

As a political strategy, gerrymandering is hardly new; the term dates back to the 1800s. But critics say increasing polarization of Democrats and Republicans and sophisticated software have made it much worse in recent years.

"It is questionable how much of a democracy we really are if we have manipulated the lines so that people can change their votes but they can't change who gets elected," says Ruth Greenwood, senior legal counsel at the Campaign Legal Center, which is representing the people fighting the Wisconsin map. The state argues that the map sticks to traditional districting principles and reflects the natural tendency of political groups to cluster together.

Some states have tried to address partisan gerrymandering by assigning the redrawing process to nonpartisan commissions. More typically, though, in states like Wisconsin, the task falls to the sitting politicians. And that means the majority party controls the process that will be used to fill its own seats.

Both Democrats and Republicans are guilty of using partisan gerrymandering to their advantage. But about 20 years ago, the GOP gained a national edge, and Democrats have struggled to redraw the lines in their favor ever since. The digital age is partly to blame; district lines are drawn with the use of increasingly sophisticated data-analysis and mapping technologies. These days, once a party makes a gerrymandered map, it's harder than ever for the opposing party to regain control and flip the map in their favor.

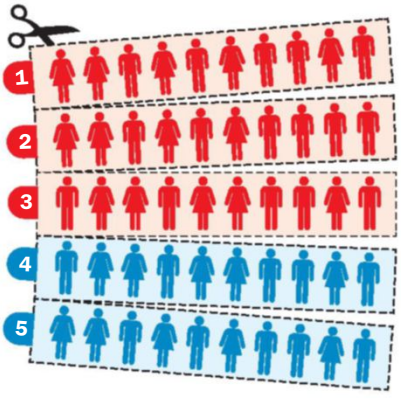
Gerrymandered maps have been challenged in court in the past. The maps are usually overturned when the court finds evidence of racial bias. (The 1965 Voting Rights Act protects minority representation.) Evidence of partisan bias is another story. Courts have generally given a pass to this kind of gerrymandering, in part because there has never been a concrete metric to prove that a party went too far in gaining an advantage.

How to manipulate votes

There are many ways to slice up a state, although some are more fair than others. In gerrymandering, one party takes a share of seats significantly greater than its share of votes. Here's how one group of voters can be divided three ways to get three different results.

1

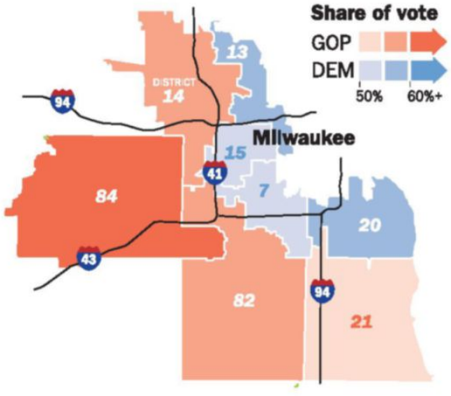
MOST-FAIR DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
Red (majority) voters and blue (minority) voters are proportionally represented.



DISTRICT COUNT
3 RED, 2 BLUE

The case in Wisconsin

Republicans redrew districts with the intent to land future victories. Take, for example, the eight districts in the Milwaukee region. Democrats would have likely won four of those districts in 2012 but instead took just two.

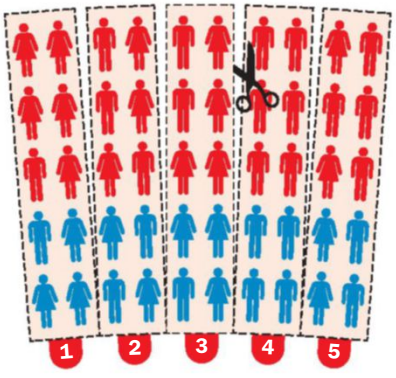


OLD BOUNDARIES
Had the map not been redrawn, this is how the 2012 election would have likely played out in the Milwaukee area.

2

ADVANTAGE MAJORITY

Red voters control each district. Blue voters have no representation.



DISTRICT COUNT

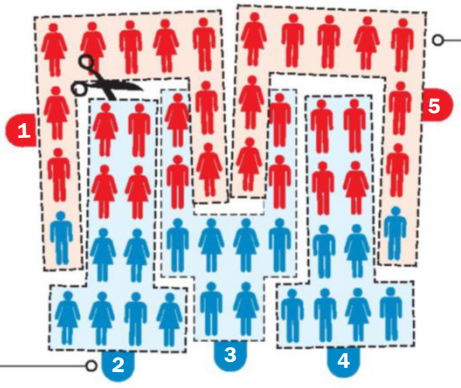
5 RED, 0 BLUE

3

ADVANTAGE MINORITY

Blue voters have greater representation than red voters. This is done using two strategies, called cracking and packing.

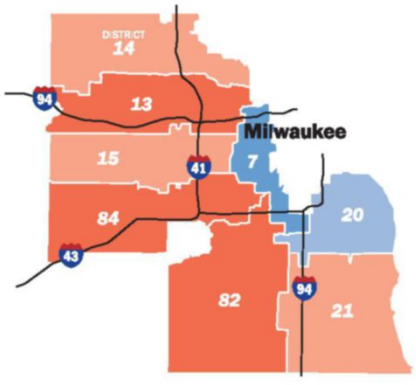
Cracking dilutes the voting power of the red party across several districts. The blue minority party wins by slim margins in those areas.



Packing concentrates the red voters into just a few districts. They win by large margins in those areas but have less voting power elsewhere.

DISTRICT COUNT

3 BLUE, 2 RED

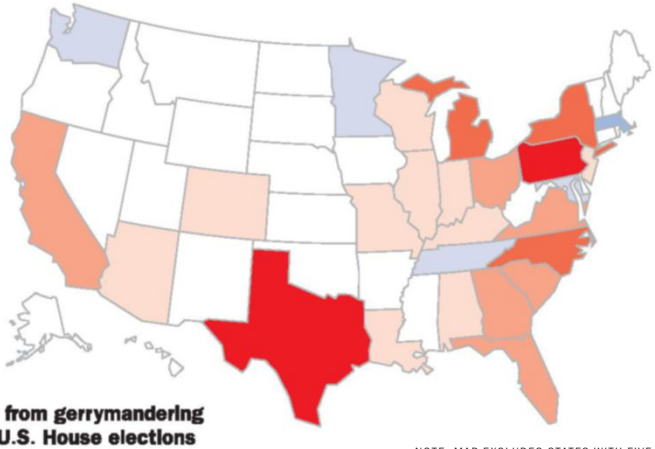


REDRAWN BOUNDARIES

The new map siphoned urban Democrats into suburban districts that had large numbers of Republicans.

Who gets more seats?

It's not just state legislatures that are affected by gerrymandering. Both parties have used the tactic to gain seats in the U.S. House. Partisan bias netted the GOP 17 to 29 extra seats in 2016.



Seat gain from gerrymandering in 2016 U.S. House elections

GOP 3+ 2 1 NO DATA 1 2 3+ DEM

NOTE: MAP EXCLUDES STATES WITH FIVE OR FEWER CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS. THE STATES SHOWN HERE ACCOUNT FOR 85% OF ALL CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

That's why the Wisconsin case is unprecedented. The Campaign Legal Center is proposing a multistep test to evaluate whether a map is skewed so far as to be unconstitutional. Such a test hasn't been presented to the Supreme Court before. Part of the test relies on a simple calculation, called the efficiency-gap equation, to determine how easy it is for each party to translate votes into seats. If a state's efficiency gap is an outlier by historical standards, it would fail that part of the test.

This is not the only test being developed. Political scientists and statisticians are looking at various ways to fight gerrymandering using the same computer-aided analysis that empowered it. Researchers at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign are using computers to create millions of simulations of "reasonably imperfect" legislative maps that can be compared with the ones lawmakers draw up to help determine whether they are gerrymandered. Organizers at Tufts University trained mathematicians at a workshop this summer to serve as expert witnesses on court cases fighting gerrymandering.

If the high court rules against the Wisconsin map, the test could have a nationwide impact starting in 2020, when the next Census kicks off a new round of mapmaking. Nicholas Stephanopoulos, a law professor at the University of Chicago who helped develop the test, says it would not eliminate all gerrymandering but would cut off the most egregious plans.

"There are places where [voters are] 50-50, yet one party is locked out of power," Stephanopoulos says. "There is no other practice or policy that has such an impact on who is elected." ☐

SOURCES: THE CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER; COURT FILINGS; BALLOTPEDIA; THE BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE

THE RISK REPORT

Yes, Merkel won again. But the fires of European populism are still raging

By Ian Bremmer

Catalans are determined to vote in an independence referendum on Oct. 1 in defiance of the Spanish government

THE POPULIST WAVE OF 2017 MAY NOT HAVE DESTROYED the European order in the way some predicted, but there are still many Europeans who want to upend the status quo. Look at what happened in Germany's elections on Sept. 24: Angela Merkel, a leader best known for prudence and experience, won a fourth term as Chancellor. But just as anti-E.U. firebrands Geert Wilders and Marine Le Pen pushed past Establishment parties to finish second earlier this year in Holland and France, respectively, Germany's anti-immigrant, Euroskeptic party Alternative for Germany (AfD) became the first far-right party to win seats in the German Parliament since the Nazi surrender in 1945.

In Spain, meanwhile, a different sort of anger is brewing. On Oct. 1, Catalans will cast ballots in an independence referendum that has generated outrage across the country. The constitutional court declared the vote illegal, but separatist leaders have defied orders from Madrid to call it off. Spanish police have raided regional government offices, arrested more than a dozen separatist leaders and seized millions of ballots—provoking protests involving tens of thousands of people in Barcelona and across Catalonia. Podemos, a left-wing Spanish political party fueled by anger at E.U.-imposed austerity, has called on the Socialist Party to join in a bid to remove Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy from office so that a new government in Madrid can negotiate terms of a referendum with Catalan officials.

> In Spain, a different sort of anger is brewing, at a referendum generating outrage across the country

In France, voters elected pro-E.U. centrist Emmanuel Macron as their President earlier this year, but this was no vote for the Establishment. The traditional parties of center right and center left that have dominated French politics for decades were humbled in the election. Macron leads a party that he invented from scratch less than two years ago. Yet French voters are still discontented; Macron's approval rating fell from 62% in May to just 40% in August (although it has since risen to 45% in September), and tens of thousands of people took to the streets against the President's new labor reforms on Sept. 23.

In the U.K., the Labour Party and its far-left leader, Jeremy Corbyn, picked up enough new seats in the June elections to strip Prime Minister Theresa May's Conservative Party of its parliamentary majority. But don't count on a strengthened opposition to push for a softer Brexit; majorities in 162 of the 262 constituencies that Labour won voted last year to leave the E.U., and there's no sign they've changed their minds. British working-class voters have proved they can reject both Europeans and their Prime Minister.

THEN THERE'S ITALY. Currently locked in a political stalemate, the country will likely go to the polls again next year, electing either another fragmented government that can't advance political or economic reform, or a government led by comedian Beppe Grillo and his virulently anti-E.U. Five Star Movement. Anger here is fueled in part by a migrant crisis that has eased elsewhere in Europe but has grown more intense in Italy. In the first half of this year, 10,000 migrants reached Greece and 6,000 arrived in Spain, while Italy accepted more than 80,000.

It doesn't help that eastern E.U. members—Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia—have refused to take even modest numbers of migrants. Under an E.U. quota system, these four nations were expected to accept about 11,000 refugees. Slovakia and the Czech Republic have taken 28 people. Poland and Hungary have taken none. The European Court of Justice has rejected appeals by Hungary and Slovakia, and the E.U. has threatened to reduce subsidies if they don't comply. Angry people in Eastern Europe may be about to become much angrier.

Media attention has focused on the charismatic populists who play leading roles in these stories: Le Pen, Wilders, Grillo and Hungary's Viktor Orban. Instead, it's the crowds cheering at their rallies that are the real story. They want fundamental change, inside their countries and across Europe. So far, they're not getting it. □

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ympic

LightBox

A bid for nationhood

Celebrations spilled out into the streets of Kirkuk on Sept. 25 as Iraqi Kurds voted 93% in favor of independence. The referendum gave voice to aspirations for self-determination among the 30 million Kurds across Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. But the vote also set the stage for a tense feud with Iraq's government, which rejected the legitimacy of the referendum.

Photograph by Chris McGrath—Getty Images

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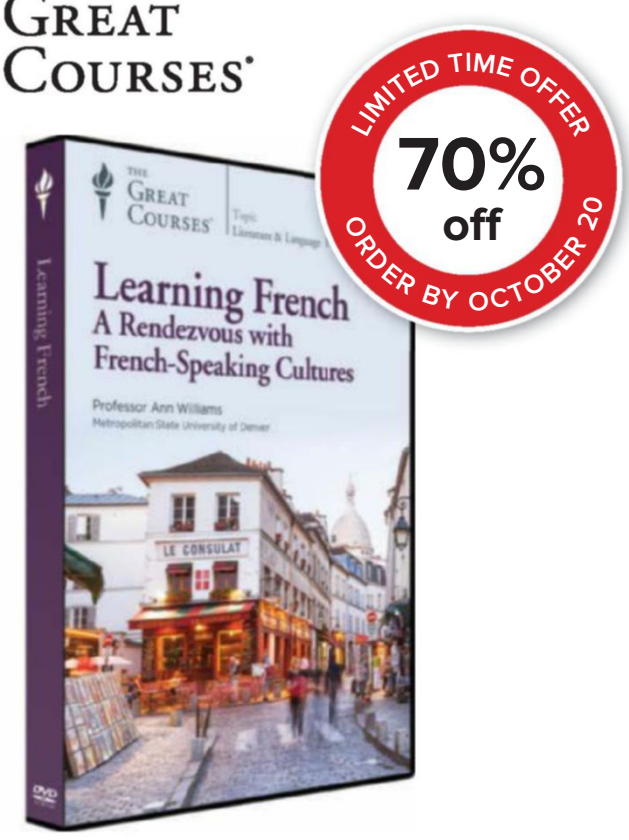

Culture and Conversations: Understanding French

The musical sound of the French language tends to conjure certain images for English speakers. Leisurely mornings of coffee and pastries in a café. The Bohemian life of an artist on the Left Bank of the Seine. The romance of *Je t'aime*, the understatement of *Ça va,* the inspiration of *Liberté*, *Égalité*, and *Fraternité*: French is a beautiful language, and one of the most rewarding you can study. Yet as with learning any new language, it can be a frustrating experience, requiring patience and understanding. But with the right approach, it should also be a fun and incredibly rewarding endeavor.

Learning French: A Rendezvous with French-Speaking Cultures includes what most platforms omit: explanation. In these 30 immersive, step-by-step lectures, Professor Ann Williams gives you the core building blocks of the language and engaging audio exercises while also offering crucial insight into the relationship between French and French-speaking cultures. Filled with conversations and insider tips to give you insights about the nuances of the culture, this course makes learning—and, most important, using—French easier than you ever imagined.

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7. Vacations and Leisure Activities
8. *À table*: Daily Meals
9. Buying Groceries
10. Where to Eat
11. The Life of the Traveler
12. Public Transportation
13. Travel and Technology
14. *Souvenirs de voyage*
15. *Les Vêtements*: How and Why to Dress
16. The Home and Private Spaces
17. *« Je fais des progrès en français ! »*
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The View

'IF SMOKING IS BANNED ON PLANES, WHAT'S WITH ALL THE ASHTRAYS?' —PAGE 23

An earthquake on Sept. 23 cracked the concrete in San Gregorio Atlapulco, Mexico

ENVIRONMENT

America is not ready for the earthquakes ahead

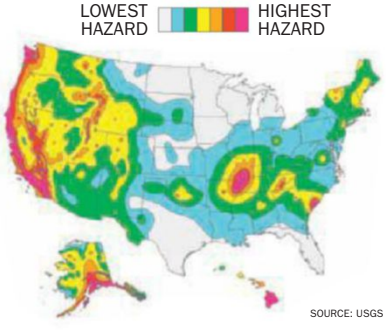
By Kathryn Miles

ASK MOST AMERICANS ABOUT THE greatest disaster threat and they're likely to give the same answer: hurricanes—especially after the recent havoc they've wreaked. That awareness is valuable. But it's just as important to realize how vulnerable we are to another kind of disaster: earthquakes.

Consider the Sept. 19 quake near Mexico City. At least 333 people died and 38 buildings collapsed, and those tallies could rise. It was a grim reminder of just how devastating a seismic event can be. And it could have easily happened in the U.S.—not just in California but in cities like Memphis, New York, Anchorage, Salt Lake, Seattle and Washington, D.C. Large swaths of the U.S. are overdue for a seismic event *(see chart)*. Few are as prepared as Mexico City.

Mexico's recent quake occurred 32 years after the city's 1985 shock, which killed about 10,000 people and destroyed 3,000 buildings. Since then, Mexico has worked to shore up its earthquake preparedness. In

Hot zones for potential earthquakes



SOURCE: USGS

PHOTOGRAPH BY KIRSTEN LUCE

1991, the country launched an early-warning system—the first in the world and one that has been emulated by countries like Japan. Thanks to sirens and smartphones, thousands of individuals were alerted to the impending quake. Some had a minute to duck and cover, to grab go bags, to locate their loved ones. Those seconds can mean the difference between life and death.

Mexico has also instituted a national earthquake drill program, which residents practiced hours before this quake. It has put in place regulations to ensure that building materials can safely bend and shift during seismic activity, even in different soil types. Obviously, these methods aren't perfect, and they did not prevent the considerable damage inflicted by the recent quake. But experts agree that Mexico's preparedness softened its blow—saving hundreds of lives in the process.

The U.S. is far more vulnerable. In most cities, earthquake codes were written to ensure that people can exit a building before a quake, not so that the structure can be safely occupied after one. They also apply solely to new construction, meaning that if your children go to a school built before a code's approval, it could collapse in a significant quake. And because the U.S. has a scant national earthquake preparedness program and no early-warning system, most citizens won't know when a quake is coming or what to do when it arrives.

It doesn't have to be this way. On a local level, cities can take action, as did Westport, Wash., a small working-class community on the Olympic Peninsula. Its residents approved a bond initiative to build a tsunami refuge atop their elementary school's gym. The platform accommodates 2,000 people, and kids in the district practice drills; they can reach the platform in seconds flat. It's easy to imagine similar efforts for an earthquake proper.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Geological Survey, with several universities, is testing the beta version of an early-warning system for the West Coast, which would send notifications to individuals, corporations and government organizations. It's technologically possible to make this a national warning system; what's missing is congressional approval. The President's proposed budget would prevent the creation of such a network—and defund current programs like the national tsunami monitoring system. If his budget is adopted, we would lose crucial data and infrastructure that can save untold lives.

And now more than ever, that's a dangerous wager to make. Because the question isn't if a major quake will occur. It's a matter of when—and how tragic it will be.

Miles is the author of Quakeland: On the Road to America's Next Devastating Earthquake

VERBATIM

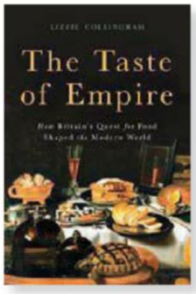
'We can make it harder. We can make it a lot harder. And that's what we're going to do.'

MARK ZUCKERBERG, Facebook CEO, vowing to take steps to reduce election interference after the social network revealed that Russian government agents had bought some 3,000 political ads that ran during the 2016 U.S. presidential election

BOOK IN BRIEF

The birth of Britain's global palate

THERE ARE MANY FACTORS THAT drove Britain's centuries-long quest for world domination. But one of the biggest, argues historian Lizzie Collingham in her new book *The Taste of Empire,* was a taste for better, more exotic food, from India's pepper and tea to Barbados' sugar. Over time, the pursuit of these far-flung delicacies led to large-scale oppression—evident not least in the slave trade—whose effects still linger in the ex-colonies today. But that's not all the British left behind. As their trade routes grew bigger and more complex, they changed the culinary landscapes of the countries they touched—introducing African rice to South Carolina, for example, and curry to Guyana with the shipping of Indian labor. In the process, they upended their domestic diet as well. "By the 1930s, the wheat to make the working man's loaf was supplied by Canada," Collingham writes, "and his Sunday leg of lamb had been fattened on New Zealand's grasslands." —SARAH BEGLEY



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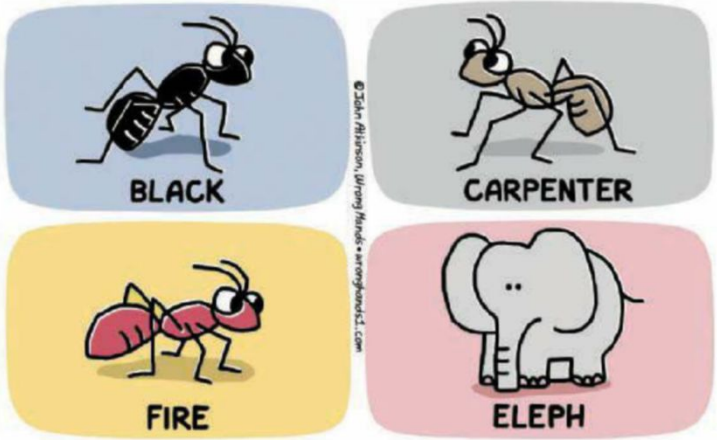


JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/ideas**

BIG IDEA

Switzerland's new medical drones

During a medical emergency, every second matters—including the ones spent driving samples to and from external labs for testing. But what if they could be flown instead? That's the idea behind a new fleet of delivery drones, developed by California-based Matternet for deployment in Switzerland. When lab technicians are done testing a sample, they simply deposit it at a nearby drone-docking station; then the drone takes off on a predetermined route back to a hospital, flying far above traffic. The initiative, developed in partnership with the national postal service, is set to launch in several Swiss cities by the end of the year. But Matternet has grander ambitions. If the tech works, it may well deploy it for e-commerce delivery and more. —*Julia Zorthian*

ZUCKERBERG: STEVE JENNINGS—BREAKTHROUGH PRIZE/GETTY IMAGES; BIG IDEA: MATTERNET

HISTORY

Why there's still an ashtray on your airplane

IT'S A QUINTESSENTIAL IN-FLIGHT RIDDLE: If smoking is banned on planes, what's with all the ashtrays?

U.S. airlines started banning smoking back in the late 1980s. By the end of 1990, lighting up was prohibited on all domestic flights under six hours in duration, and since 2000 the smoking ban has been pretty much ubiquitous internationally. So does that mean the planes we're flying on are all super-old? Thankfully not.

"You're not allowed to smoke, but some people still do it," a cabin attendant on a Cathay Pacific flight bound for London said, adding that she catches somebody about once every six months. "So if you do smoke, there has to be a safe place to stub it out."

That safe place is emphatically not the lavatory's waste bin, which is likely to be filled with flammable tissues. And there's good reason for airlines to be cautious. In 1973, 123 passengers were killed on a plane traveling from Rio de Janeiro to Paris when the pilot made an emergency landing after the cabin filled with smoke. The suspected cause? A cigarette. These days, ashtrays in bathrooms are listed as a legal requirement for "minimum equipment" by the Federal Aviation Administration. And it's not only the FAA that mandates ashtrays onboard: in 2009 a Mexico-bound British Airways flight was briefly grounded after it was discovered not to have any ashtrays.

So ashtrays on planes are not relics. But neither are they an invitation to smoke; rather, they're there because the FAA does not trust you not to. —JOSEPH HINCKS

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

MOODS CAN BE CONTAGIOUS

A study in *Royal Society Open Science* found that kids whose friends suffered from bad moods were more likely to report bad moods themselves, and the opposite held true for those with happy friends.

2

SICK PETS CAN AFFECT THEIR OWNERS' MENTAL HEALTH

A study in *Veterinary Record* of 238 dog and cat owners found that those with sick pets had more stress, anxiety and depressive symptoms—all closely tied to the burden of caregiving—than those with healthy pets.

3

COUPLES DEVELOP SIMILAR TASTES IN FOOD

A study in *Appetite* found that the longer two people are in a relationship, the more closely their food and smell preferences align, likely because the dining customs of each person influence the other's. —*J.Z.*

LETTER FROM SEOUL

What really worries South Koreans: Trump

By Norman Pearlstine

IN THE ESCALATING STANDOFF BETWEEN DONALD TRUMP and Kim Jong Un, Seoul is ground zero. Just 35 miles from the demilitarized zone, the metropolitan area of 25 million, with its fashionable, upscale entertainment bars, globe-spanning banks and new 123-story Lotte Group building, could be wiped off the map in any conflict by North Korea's artillery, let alone its ever improving nuclear arsenal.

But it's not Kim that the urbane population of this capital is most worried about. It is Trump's seeming indifference to the value of Washington's alliance with their city that confuses the citizens of Seoul. They worry that the American President, who has suggested he might abandon U.S. defense of the South, or open a trade war with it, is working with an outdated understanding of the peninsula, and the region.

South Korea's growth story is the envy of the developing world. In the 1950s, postwar South Korea was one of the poorest places on earth. Thanks to smart economic policies, incentives for entrepreneurs, foreign investment and generous U.S. government and military support, this nation has emerged with one of the dozen highest GDPs in the world, and has an annual per capita income of more than $27,000. Today Seoul is a Big New York. Its people are well fed and well dressed, and its young strivers are far too cool to think Brooklyn is the only place to live. While South Koreans may complain that their new, shiny cars are often stuck in traffic, they take pride in them and in the scores of impressive new buildings. We should feel good about what Americans and South Koreans have accomplished together.

AT A MOMENT WHEN the U.S., South Korea and their Pacific partners have so much to lose, South Koreans worry that Trump isn't helping. First there are the economic dangers. After abandoning the 12-country Trans-Pacific Partnership, Trump has threatened to pull out of America's free-trade deal with South Korea, and there is concern that he may seek additional protectionist measures. There could be big costs in such a separation of South Korea's interests from America's. Already, South Korean trade with China is more than twice as great as its exports to the U.S. If America fails to support South Korea, it increases the odds that South Korea may find China a more reliable partner.

Then there are the military concerns. Many Seoul-based analysts who have studied Kim Jong Un say Trump is wrong to think him a "madman" bent on self-destruction. They insist that Kim is rational and that his goal is to stay in power for decades, ultimately reunifying North and South Korea under his control. If Trump's "Rocket Man" taunts are supposed to bring Kim to the negotiating table, they aren't working. Instead, that belligerence plays into Kim's hands, giving him justification for devoting so many resources to his own military buildup.

EXPLOSIVE WEALTH

$133.45

South Korea's per capita GDP—the value of goods and services produced by a country, per resident—in 1966

$27,538.81

South Korea's per capita GDP in 2016, a total that represents 271% of the world average

North Korea's totalitarian ruler Kim Jong Un

Which is not to say South Koreans are soft on Kim. They cringe when they hear him talk about his dreams of reunifying the peninsula under North Korean rule. They rightly agree that his family dynasty has turned North Korea into a criminal enterprise whose economy benefits from drug trafficking, counterfeiting, cybercrime and money laundering. They fear that Kim, given the chance, would have no qualms about treating South Koreans as badly as he treats his own citizens. That feeling stretches beyond the peninsula to the rest of the countries in the region. Neither China nor Japan wants to see a nation of 75 million people on the peninsula reunified under North Korean control.

THE ISSUE OF NUKES turns Trump's potential misreading of the peninsula into a matter of life and death for each of them, and millions more. My first visit to Seoul in 1973, fittingly, was to attend a conference hosted by Herman Kahn, the author of *On Thermonuclear War* and then head of the Hudson Institute. Kahn, who had spent years analyzing Japan's postwar economic miracle when he wasn't contemplating nuclear annihilation, had trained his sights on South Korea, convinced that it would become the next great growth story. Kahn also thought nuclear proliferation was inevitable and worried that leaders of small countries possessing such weapons might be more likely to use them when threatened.

To forestall that possibility, and to bolster its crucial East Asian alliances, the U.S. may want to consider putting tactical nuclear weapons of its own in South Korea, should Kim insist on continuing his nuclear buildup while refusing to negotiate in good faith. The U.S. first surrounded Seoul with a nuclear arsenal in the late 1950s, and it wasn't removed until 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed. Many in Seoul would oppose the reintroduction of nuclear weapons in South Korea. But fear of such weapons, coupled with a continuing U.S. military presence there, might be the one threat that convinces North Korea and China to look for peaceful alternatives.

Pearlstine is a former Time Inc. chief content officer and editor-in-chief

KIM: STR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; SLAUGHTER: GETTY IMAGES; STEPHENS: TONY CENICOLA—THE NEW YORK TIMES

VIEWPOINT

In the debate over campus free speech, who are the real special snowflakes?

By Eddie S. Glaude Jr.

MANY CONSERVATIVES BELIEVE THAT UNIVERSITIES AND colleges have become illiberal spaces that stifle free speech. They point to the violent protests at the University of California, Berkeley, that prevented Milo Yiannopoulos from speaking, or the threat of protests that led to the cancellation of Ann Coulter's appearance at the school. With horror, they recall what happened to Charles Murray at Middlebury College and list examples of coddled students protesting the likes of Condoleezza Rice. All of which reflects, they believe, a broader culture on campuses designed to quarantine students from diverse political opinions—to secure them in their "safe spaces" with "trigger warnings" and "political correctness." No wonder, conservatives claim, that we have a generation of special snowflakes, quick to take offense and even quicker, when challenged, to melt like snow in the hot sun.

I ran smack into this argument on *Morning Joe,* where I often appear. Joe Scarborough and the panelists took a dumbfounding position, and I was flummoxed in my response. I spend every day on a campus that has plenty of political conservatives. I also know faculty who worry about facing death threats because of something they've said or written.

Public universities like the University of Wisconsin–Madison are suffering under the weight of a conservative legislature and Governor Scott Walker. Lawmakers are passing deeply hypocritical "campus free speech" legislation to curb the right to free speech in the name of protecting conservatives. Even the President of the United States is willing to throw the First Amendment in the trash as he urges NFL owners to fire or suspend players who refuse to stand during the national anthem. The defense of free speech seems to be highly selective, but the idea of universities and colleges as hotbeds of intolerant liberals is just plain wrong.

Thousands of lectures across the ideological spectrum happen on campuses. Students go to classes, participate in various organizations and attend lectures without incident. Imagine how many times Murray or Rice or Ben Shapiro have actually spoken on campuses without its becoming a national spectacle. The protests we have witnessed recently are not the norm, but conservatives and even some liberal columnists would have us believe otherwise.

IN MANY WAYS, the university setting is the most vibrant space for the free exchange of ideas in this country. That doesn't mean that universities and colleges are free from the passions of political debate. Just as those passions inflame partisanship in national and local politics, they show up on campuses, especially in the hearts and minds of young people who fight it out, sometimes with abandon. Hopefully in the process, they learn what Princeton president Christopher Eisgruber recently conveyed to the entering class: "The art of disagreement is not only about confrontation, but also about learning. It requires that we defend our views … and, at the same time, consider whether our views might be mistaken."

But some speakers challenge the basic values that make this learning possible. They use the university's commitment to the free exchange of ideas to promulgate positions that threaten the fabric of the community as a whole. They spew intolerant and hateful views.

The torch-bearing neo-Nazis shouting "Jews will not replace us" in Charlottesville are just one extreme example. Richard Spencer and Coulter are another. They add little to the debate at universities and colleges. Coulter revels in her ability to insult broadly. Spencer thinks white people are superior to black people. How can I reasonably argue with someone who believes he is innately better? It's as intellectually valid as saying "Kiss my ass."

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES must resist the rhetorical sleight of hand that claims it is intolerant to disallow intolerant speech, and instead protect the conditions of equal standing and dignity that make for the free exchange of ideas in our communities. We must never sanction a callous disregard of callousness.

Not all conservative speech is hateful speech, and we ought to be able to distinguish the difference. Most conservatives aren't like Yiannopoulos, Spencer and Coulter. Such conservatives should, and do, speak on campuses every day. But if they hold controversial views, like any speaker of whatever ideological bent, they should expect a passionate response that may take the form of protests. And in those cases, students have every right to exercise their freedom of speech.

Some conservatives want to proselytize without pushback. They want to exact judgment without being judged. When others reasonably call them racist or sexist or homophobic, they clutch their pearls and cry foul. One wonders who the real snowflakes in this drama are.

Glaude is the chair of the department of African-American studies at Princeton University

OTHERS WEIGH IN

'All of us have to stand up for … civil discourse. Try living in a country where they stop talking and start shooting.'

ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER, former dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School

Identity politics 'has made the distance between making an argument and causing offense terrifyingly short.'

BRET STEPHENS, New York *Times* columnist

A man rides a bicycle on a damaged road in Toa Alta, west of San Juan, on Sept. 24

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICARDO ARDUENGO

Nation

THE ISLAND AND THE STORM

Puerto Rico was wrecked by Hurricane Maria, then ignored by the mainland

By Karl Vick/San Juan

THE QUIET AFTER A STORM IS A REAL THING.

Stillness is drenched in humidity and scorched by a sun blasting down from the clear skies that will eventually follow a hurricane. But on this island of 3.4 million people, the quiet after Hurricane Maria had a distinct feeling of absence, an inattention bordering on obliviousness.

The fifth strongest storm ever to strike the U.S. hit Puerto Rico on Sept. 20 with stronger winds than Irma brought to Florida and the kind of rain that Hurricane Harvey dumped on Houston. It made landfall on a Wednesday, and in the digital age, its effects were well documented by Friday: parts of San Juan, the capital of this U.S. territory, were underwater. The verdant island was stripped of its foliage. U.S. citizens lapped water from natural springs. But on the mainland, the topics of the day were a special election in Alabama, the latest GOP stab at repealing Obamacare and a fight President Donald Trump had picked with the NFL.

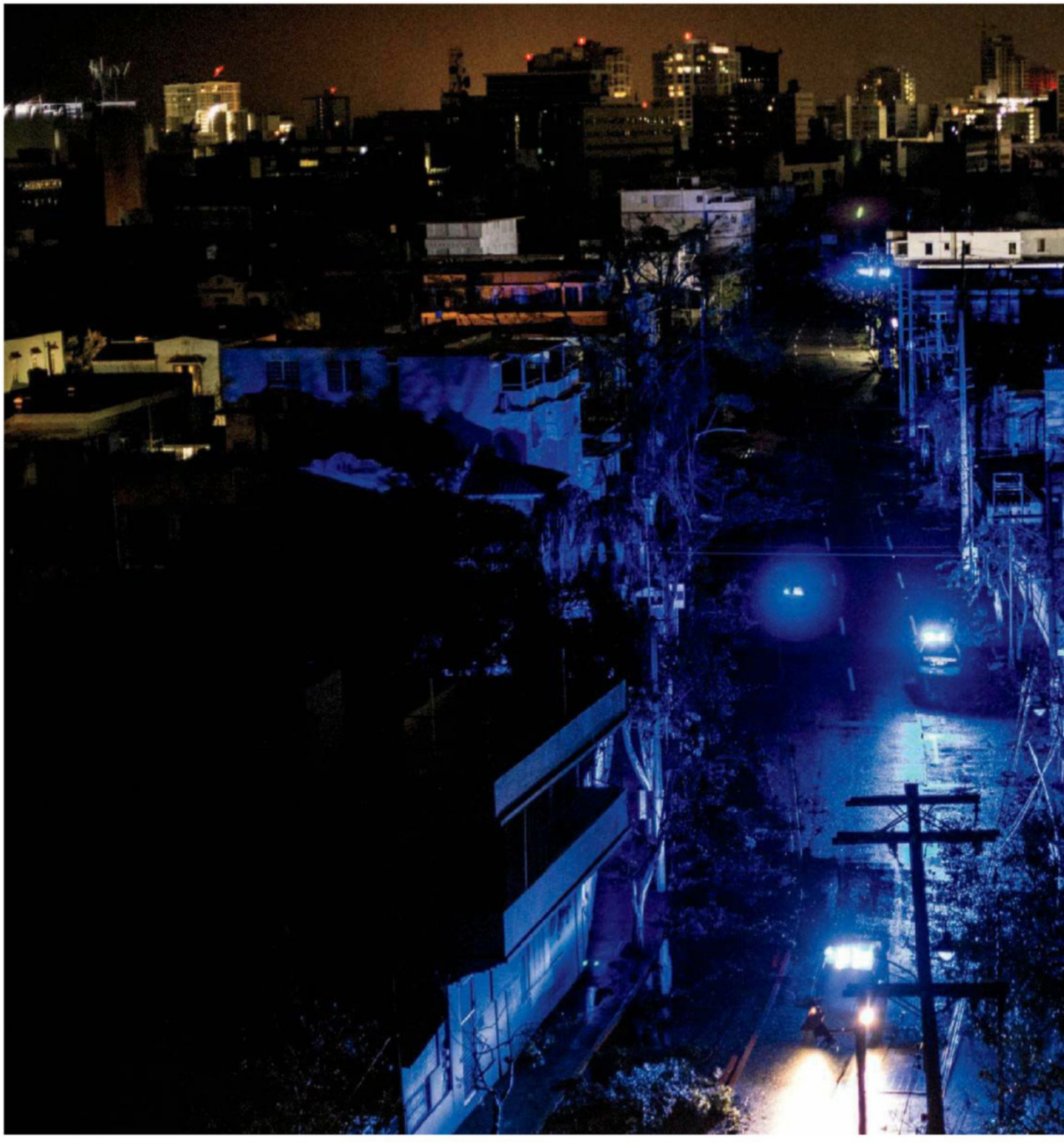
"Puerto Rico, which is part of the United States, can turn into a humanitarian crisis," its governor, Ricardo Rosselló, warned on Sept. 25. One day later, a poll showed that almost half of Americans did not know that Puerto Ricans are American citizens. "When we speak of a catastrophe, everyone must be treated equally."

After winning plaudits for their smooth, coordinated responses in Texas and Florida this past summer, the feds were not exactly caught flat-footed in the Caribbean. Two weeks before Maria hit Puerto Rico, which was preparing for Hurricane Irma to hit, FEMA had about 124 staff members deployed there and in the Virgin Islands. Water, meals, cots and blankets were pre-positioned in San Juan.

But the scale of the devastation—combined with the inattention of the White House—generated a tableau that critics described as evidence of neglect or worse. Pushed onto the defensive, the White House hastily arranged a

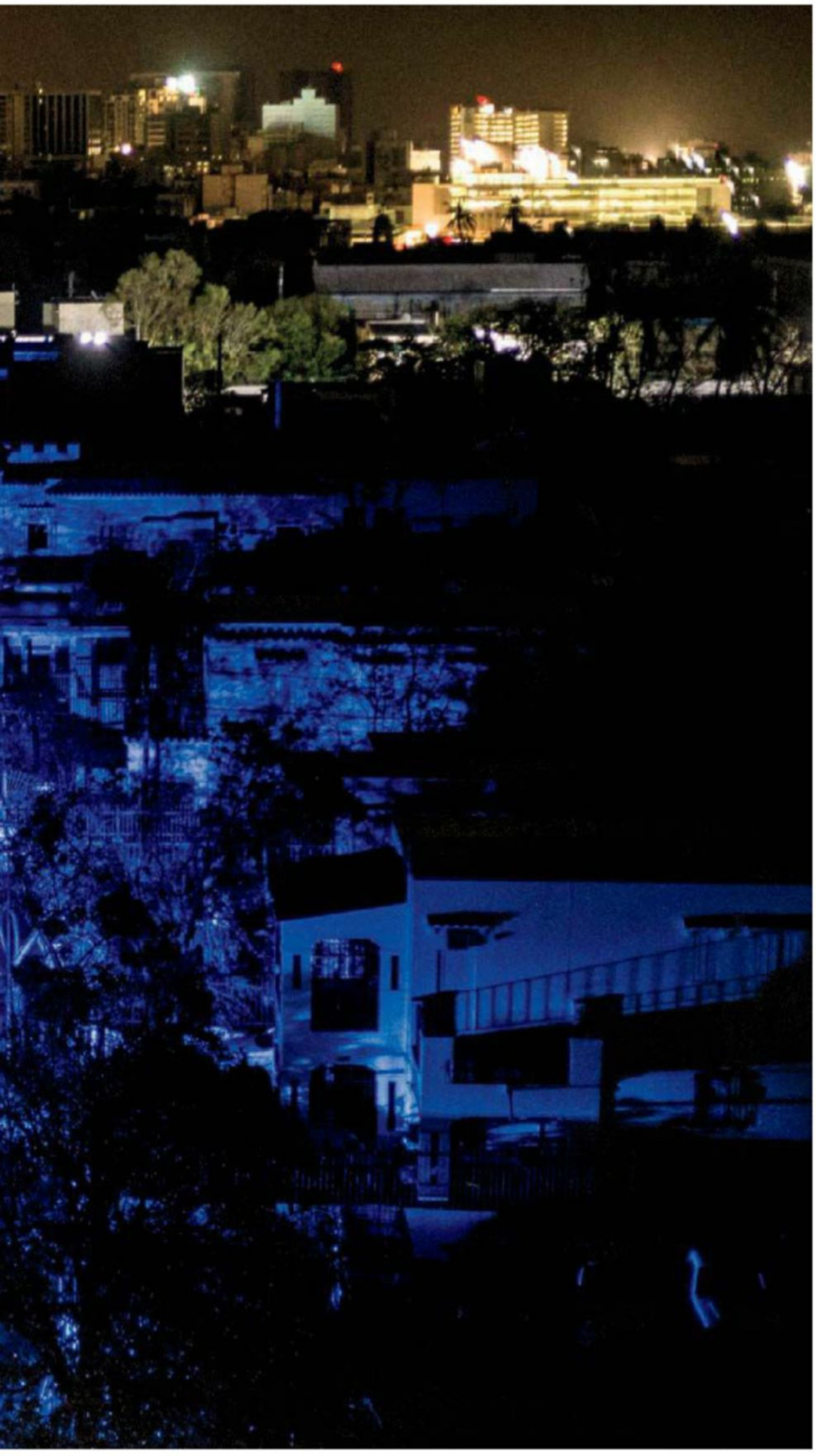
Five days after the hurricane made landfall, desperate residents bathe in a natural spring in Toa Alta

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: VICTOR J. BLUE—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



Emergency-services vehicles cast blue light on a section of San Juan experiencing a blackout hours after the hurricane made landfall

ALEX WROBLEWSKI—GETTY IMAGES



presidential visit to the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico for Oct. 3. "No gasoline, no water, no nada," says Reynaldo Valdez, 57, driving through a San Juan that looks as though it's been raked.

MARIA MADE LANDFALL on the island's southeastern corner, with sustained winds of 155 m.p.h. That's more force than that of most tornadoes. This particular cyclone covered the entire island, which is 40 miles at its widest point. "Imagine if a hurricane started in Florida and ended up in Washington State," NASA disaster official Miguel Román pointed out. "That's what we're dealing with here."

As meteorologists watched the satellite imagery—radar had been knocked out—Maria stuttered across the island. The inland hills that rise more than 3,000 ft. above the heart of Puerto Rico were drawing moisture out of the storm, which loosed torrents of rain. Flash floods tore through valleys, and hillsides collapsed, pulling down houses already shorn of their roofs. Roadways were turned into tunnels as trees on both sides fell into one another. The entire electricity grid came down, taking with it the pumps that supply drinking water.

A week after the storm, 16 people were reported dead, and 44% of residents lacked potable water. A massive relief operation was under way—the military planned 240 flights to the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico in one 24-hour period—but in a territory nearly the size of Connecticut, the challenge was getting the help to remote areas.

Officials warn that it may be months before power is restored across the island, not least because the grid had decayed as the territory's government was engulfed by a metastasizing debt crisis over the past few years. But while Trump tweeted about the island's debts to Wall Street, officials understood that Maria had also left behind the gift of leverage. More Puerto Ricans now live on the mainland than on the island. Migration, already up markedly in recent years, may surge to new heights if swaths of the territory remain unlivable.

"If we want to prevent, for example, a mass exodus, we have to take action," Rosselló said. "Congress, take note: Take action. Permit Puerto Rico to have the necessary resources."

Outside the shuttered hotel she manages in the capital's beachside Condado district, Evel Torres reinforced the point. "Everything is closed in Puerto Rico," she told me with a smile. "I'm going with you to the States!" ◻

Trump walks toward Air Force One in New Jersey on Sept. 22, hours before calling out NFL players at a political rally in Huntsville, Ala.

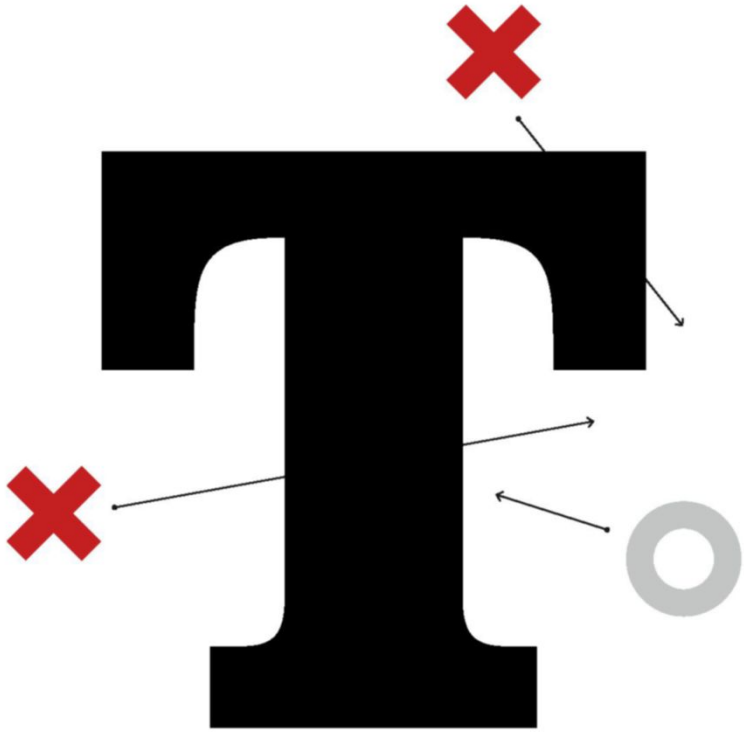
PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI

Nation

TRUMP'S OFFENSIVE PLAYBOOK

A deliberately provocative President picks his latest fight over free speech in sports

By ALEX ALTMAN and SEAN GREGORY



THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL MAN picked a busy week to go to war with America's most popular sport. Donald Trump was navigating a nuclear standoff with North Korea when he touched down in Alabama for a political rally on Sept. 22. In Puerto Rico, millions of Americans were without water or electricity in the wake of Hurricane Maria. A plan to revamp the nation's health care system faced a pivotal hurdle in the Senate.

But the President had another matter on his mind: the squad of football players who had protested racial injustice and police brutality by kneeling, raising their fists or locking their arms during the national anthem. "Wouldn't you love to see one of these NFL owners, when somebody disrespects our flag, to say, 'Get that son of a bitch off the field right now?'" he asked the crowd of supporters in Huntsville.

Trump sprays outrage like a comedian testing material, and the thunderous applause told the President he had struck gold. So he pressed the attack. Some two dozen times over the next five days, he questioned the protesters' patriotism and labeled them "privileged" millionaires who lacked respect or gratitude.

It was a remarkable thing for a President to devote so much energy to attacking athletes for peacefully exercising their First Amendment rights. But the spat over sports wasn't just a diversion but a move straight from Trump's political playbook. Confronted with crises, he creates new ones, picking fights that stir his supporters and outrage his opponents. In this case, he spotted a wedge issue that pits his rural, conservative white base against both wealthy black athletes and liberal elites who scold the NFL for everything from racist team logos to soft-pedaling the risks of head trauma. White House advisers were pleased that the President had found a way to turn Colin Kaepernick—the unemployed quarterback who pioneered the kneeling protest—into the new "Crooked Hillary."

But quite apart from whether North Korea or Puerto Rico was a better focus of his attention, why run the risk of blowback by taking on one of the few American institutions that appeals across party lines, state lines, class and color lines? For this President, the words usually matter less than the music. The point was not that he was attacking the actions of black football players; the point was that he was telling his supporters, once again, I'm one of you, I'm on your side, and I'm willing to endure the ridicule of the elites in order to say out loud what you are thinking. The descants about political correctness, racial grievance and class resentment toward millionaire athletes all reminded his base why he was one of them.

'President Trump is saying what a lot of Americans are thinking.'

—SENATOR JOHN KENNEDY

More important, it reminded Washington Republicans that he was not one of them. So long as he has the fervent devotion of a core Republican cadre, he is to be feared. The same voters who preferred Alabama's Constitution-defying, anti–gay rights, Muslim-bashing judge Roy Moore to Establishment opponent Luther Strange threaten every mainstream Republican. And yes, Trump officially supported Strange, but everyone knew that Moore was the true Trumpist in the race, and he prevailed by a wide margin. Is it any wonder, in this climate, that one of the Senate's most respected statesmen, Tennessee Republican Bob Corker, announced that he would not seek reelection next year?

So began a Sunday of football when the spectacle on the sidelines outshone the action on the field. The Baltimore Ravens and Jacksonville Jaguars set the tone from London, in the first game on Sept. 24. Some players took a knee, while others linked arms in solidarity—including Jaguars owner Shahid Khan, a Pakistani immigrant who was among seven NFL owners to donate $1 million or more to Trump's Inauguration. Members of the Miami Dolphins warmed up in #IMWITHKAP T-shirts. At the Atlanta Falcons–Detroit Lions game in Detroit, singer Rico LaVelle knelt while performing the anthem, joining 10 players. In Nashville, every player on the Tennessee Titans and Seattle Seahawks chose to remain in the locker room during the anthem. Titans wide receiver Rishard Matthews took the field with the words WE ALL BLEED THE SAME and WE ARE ONE written on his cleats. Even New England Patriots owner Robert Kraft, a close Trump friend and generous donor, criticized the President's remarks.

The movement spread beyond football. Basketball star LeBron James called the President a "bum" after Trump rescinded a White House invitation to NBA

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; OPPOSITE PAGE: BRYAN BENNETT—GETTY IMAGES

LeSean McCoy of the Buffalo Bills takes a knee during the national anthem before playing the Denver Broncos in Orchard Park, N.Y., on Sept. 24

champions the Golden State Warriors following criticism from guard Stephen Curry, one of the world's most popular athletes. The Los Angeles Sparks of the WNBA left the floor during the national anthem before Game 1 of the league finals. Hall of Fame hoopster Bill Russell, age 83, joined Twitter to post a photo of his 6 ft. 10 in. frame kneeling, with a Presidential Medal of Freedom around his neck, above the hashtag #takeaknee. Bruce Maxwell, a rookie catcher for the Oakland A's, became the first MLB player to kneel during the anthem.

Taken together, it was the largest, most potent demonstration of social activism among athletes in the history of the U.S. "This was a watershed moment," says Harry Edwards, a University of California, Berkeley, sociologist who helped organize the 1968 sports protest that culminated with U.S. track stars Tommie Smith and John Carlos raising their black-gloved fists on the medal stand at the Mexico City Olympics.

Which doesn't mean the players had won. The moment of unity on the field obscured the deepening divisions that Trump was exploiting. His fight with sports is part of a larger culture war that brings race, religion, rights, privilege and patriotism on the battlefield. The assertion of power by black men sparked predictable counterdemonstrations from some of the NFL's white supporters. Fans in New England jeered their own players; crowds in Arizona booed the Dallas Cowboys and the team owner Jerry Jones, as the team knelt before the anthem on Monday Night Football. After left tackle Alejandro Villanueva was the only Pittsburgh Steeler to take the field for the national anthem before a game against the Bears in Chicago, sales of the obscure lineman's jersey briefly became the NFL's top seller. (Villanueva, a former Army Ranger, later said the move to separate from his teammates was an accident.)

In Greenville, S.C., the Palmetto Restaurant and Ale House announced it would no longer show NFL games until the protests subsided. DirecTV offered customers refunds for their pricey Sunday Ticket packages. In Washington County, Pennsylvania, a local volunteer fire chief wrote a Facebook post with a racial slur aimed at Mike Tomlin, the Steelers' black head coach. When Stevie Wonder began a performance in New York City's Central Park by kneeling in solidarity, former GOP Congressman Joe Walsh called the legendary singer "another ungrateful black millionaire."

"I don't think any American wants to take away the right to free speech of professional football players," says Senator John Kennedy, a Louisiana Republican. "I wouldn't have said it the way he said it, but President Trump is saying what a lot of Americans are thinking. Does there have to be politics to everything? I mean, do you really have to inject politics into a football game?"

The idea that sports are a space somehow cocooned from politics has always been something of a myth. But in this case it was Trump who trampled the boundaries, spurring athletes to speak out in response. "People say you have to keep politics out of sports," says A's catcher Maxwell, the son of a white mother and a black military-veteran father, who was raised in Alabama and plays in a league where just 7.7% of players are black. "But he's the one who put politics into sports when he decided to demean certain athletes as players and as people."

LIKE SO MANY OF HIS FEUDS, the tale of Donald Trump and the National Football League began with grand ambitions, before spiraling into acrimony and lawsuits. In 1983, the real estate mogul bought the New Jersey Generals, one of 18 teams in the upstart United States Football League (USFL), in time for its second season the following year. The USFL was conceived as a complement to the NFL, not a competitor; it played its games in the spring. Trump had a different vision. Within two years he persuaded his fellow owners to move to the fall, and he sued the NFL, alleging antitrust violations.

As the USFL bled cash, the courts stonewalled Trump's legal attack. The upstart league, which had sought up to $1.7 billion in damages, was awarded a measly $3 in the case. The disastrous outcome left the new league in ruins. But Trump never abandoned his dream of joining the exclusive club of owners in the most prestigious American sport. In 1988, he considered buying the New England Patriots. In 2014, he said he offered $1 billion to purchase the Buffalo Bills,

TWEET, REPEAT

President Trump has made a habit of using explosive social-media posts to pick fights that stir his supporters, rile his opponents and divert the public's attention.

'Meryl Streep, one of the most over-rated actresses in Hollywood, doesn't know me but attacked last night at the Golden Globes.'

JAN. 9, 6:27 A.M.

ALSO HAPPENING: U.S. intelligence officials released a report on Jan. 6 concluding that Vladimir Putin had tried to influence the 2016 election.

'Terrible! Just found out that Obama had my "wires tapped" in Trump Tower just before the victory. Nothing found. This is McCarthyism!'

MARCH 4, 6:35 A.M.

ALSO HAPPENING: U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions recused himself from government probes into Russian election meddling after potential conflicts were revealed.

'James Comey better hope that there are no "tapes" of our conversations before he starts leaking to the press!'

MAY 12, 8:26 A.M.

ALSO HAPPENING: Trump fired FBI Director James Comey on May 9, leading to widespread criticism from Republicans and Democrats.

'I heard poorly rated @Morning_ Joe speaks badly of me (don't watch anymore). Then how come low I.Q. Crazy Mika, along with Psycho Joe, came ...' 'to Mar-a-Lago 3 nights in a row around New Year's Eve, and insisted on joining me. She was bleeding badly from a face-lift. I said no!'

JUNE 29, 8:52 A.M. AND 8:58 A.M.

ALSO HAPPENING: Republicans in the Senate put off a vote on a Obamacare replacement bill due to lack of support.

but was outbid.

When his overtures were spurned, he lashed out against the league like a jilted suitor. As the NFL grapples with an escalating crisis over CTE—the degenerative brain disease associated with the head trauma players suffer on the field—Trump has derided league executives for their attempts to mitigate the damage inflicted by collisions. "Football has become soft like our country has become soft," he thundered in January 2016 at a rally.

Trump's lament over efforts to guard human safety, of all things, is one more way Trump has turned the sport into a new front in the culture wars. "If there's ever an issue that shouldn't be political, it's head trauma in football," says cultural historian Michael Oriard, a former NFL lineman. And yet, he adds, "the response Trump gets seems to justify the assumption that the nanny state or whomever are ruining the grand old violent game."

Indeed, Trump trotted out the bit again during his visit to football-mad Alabama. The President's remarks came one day after a new report indicated that Aaron Hernandez, a former Patriots tight end who was convicted of murder, had suffered from the disease when he committed suicide in prison in April at age 27.

FREDERICK BREEDON—GETTY IMAGES

A Tennessee Titans fan hoists a sign during a game against the Seattle Seahawks in Nashville on Sept. 24

PROFESSIONAL SPORTS have long been a looking glass for American culture and identity. At the Berlin Olympics in 1936, the black track star Jesse Owens dominated international competition, dispelling Nazi theories of racial superiority in the process. In 1940s Brooklyn, Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color barrier, marking the beginning of the end of segregation in the nation's top sports leagues.

The social role of athletes intensified in the 1960s and '70s, when superstars with an activist bent such as Bill Russell, Muhammad Ali and Arthur Ashe helped shape the era's civil-rights movement. Tennis star Billie Jean King blazed a trail for female and LGBT athletes, and HIV-positive diver Greg Louganis challenged misconceptions about the virus. The Olympic-gold-medalist decathlete formerly known as Bruce Jenner changed the debate about transgender issues after coming out as Caitlyn. Part of the power of sports is that the imaginary intimacy between fans and their icons can spur social change.

By the dawn of the 1990s, though, star athletes had become more concerned with protecting their earning potential than using their talent to oppose social injustice. Michael Jordan dodged politics as deftly as he did defenders: in the mid-1990s, the native Tar Heel declined to endorse a black candidate in a Senate contest against the segregationist Jesse Helms. "Republicans buy shoes too," he supposedly told a friend, according to an account by author Sam Smith. In a Nike commercial, fellow basketball star Charles Barkley delivered a line that captured the ethos of the era: "I am not a role model." Silence on social issues was seen as a fair trade-off for fat contracts and lucrative endorsement deals.

Bit by bit, and then in a series of giant leaps, that reticence to engage has faded. NBA stars such as LeBron James and Chris Paul endorsed Barack Obama in 2008. Four years later, James led his Miami Heat teammates in donning hoodies after Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teen in Florida, was shot dead. In 2016, NBA stars opened the ESPY Awards with a speech against police brutality. Then came Colin Kaepernick's sideline protest, which trickled through the ranks of college athletics—where a debate has raged over the creation of a multibillion-dollar industry on the backs of free labor—all the way down to youth sports. It was in this context that Trump's attack on Kaepernick and the NFL landed.

It has been a jolt to the NFL in particular. The NFL is one of the most culturally conservative professional leagues, and it has arguably the trickiest relationship with race. It is a sport in which mostly white fans pay to watch mostly black (some 70% of players are African American) athletes pummel one another. The gladiatorial aspect is underlined by the fact that 30 of the 31 private-team owners are white. Unlike in the NBA and MLB, contracts are not guaranteed, which means that every time a player takes the field, his career can end with a single violent tackle. The owners veer politically conservative, yet the economic victories that they have won—

from salary caps to franchise-player tags—defy free-market principles.

Some of this tension is built into the NFL's founding. The nation's first professional football teams were in once booming Rust Belt cities like Muncie, Ind.; Rock Island, Ill.; and Akron, Ohio; and the league works hard to promote its roots in America's manufacturing base. The NFL Hall of Fame is in Canton, Ohio, and the names of iconic franchises like the Steelers and Green Bay Packers are living tributes to blue collar identity. The deepening cultural divide between its athletes and its audience is one reason the NFL studiously tries to avoid controversy.

In one of his many tweets about the player protests, Trump insisted "the issue of kneeling has nothing to do with race. It is about respect for our Country, Flag and National Anthem. NFL must respect this!" But it escaped no one that Trump had uncorked his attack in a state with an ugly history of racial discord. "The people cheering," Seattle Seahawks defensive end Michael Bennett told TIME, "was the most hurtful thing." Trump has a history of fanning tribal divisions, including comments about the Central Park Five case in 1989, the racially loaded ads he ran against potential Native American casino competitors in 2000 and his campaign-trail attacks.

For NFL players, it was hard to square the fact that the President had called black athletes "sons of bitches" for peacefully using their constitutional right to free speech, just five weeks after defending the same rights for violent white nationalists marching on Charlottesville, Va. "Why didn't he condemn what was going on in Charlottesville?" Denver Broncos linebacker Brandon Marshall told TIME hours after he and 31 teammates knelt on the field before a 26-16 loss to the Bills. "For him to condemn us for exercising our rights, that says a lot about him as a President." Says a White House official: "The national anthem and the American flag are symbols of the commitment Americans make to our country and its ideals. They serve as a humbling reminder of those who have fought and died to ensure that we remain one nation, under God, indivisible—something for which the President will always stand firm."

WHERE WILL THE national-anthem controversy end? A 2015 joint oversight report released by Arizona Senators John McCain and Jeff Flake, both Republicans, argued that the military pageantry that has crept into professional sports is partly about profit. The study found that $6.8 million in Defense Department contracts had been doled out to professional sports leagues to showcase what the Senators called "paid patriotism"—from on-field color-guard performances and re-enlistment ceremonies to sponsorship deals for performances of "God Bless America."

✖✖✖

'To condemn us for exercising our rights says a lot about him as a President.'

—**BRANDON MARSHALL**, Denver Broncos

But now the battle lines have been drawn by the President. "The venue is not what it's about," says Representative Brian Mast, a Florida Republican and Purple Heart recipient who lost both legs in an IED explosion in Kandahar in 2010. "It's about disrespecting the flag and our country. They're using the national anthem as an opportunity."

According to a senior White House official, some Administration aides, including chief of staff John Kelly, were peeved by the President's focus on the sideline behavior of professional athletes at a moment when challenges like threats from North Korea and the aftermath of Hurricane Maria loom. But other Republicans saw a matchup to exploit.

As these strategists read it, so long as the President could cast the debate as patriots against protesters, he would win. Polls bear out that view: in an Ipsos/Reuters survey released on Sept. 26, 58% of respondents said athletes should be required to stand during the national

NFL owners joined with their teams, from left: Shahid Khan of the Jacksonville Jaguars; Jerry Jones of the Dallas Cowboys; Daniel Snyder of the Washington Redskins

FROM LEFT: RICK WILSON—AP; MATT YORK—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; PATRICK SMITH—GETTY IMAGES

anthem, compared with just 33% who disagreed. From that vantage, picking the fight was a shrewd survival tactic.

For the players and the league, the goal is simpler. "We wanted to show our fan base that we support each other, that we have each other's back, and we'll continue to be champions for our communities," says Philadelphia Eagles safety Malcolm Jenkins, who raised his fist before the Sept. 24 game and has been a leader of the protest movement.

Trump's rhetoric also turned conservative owners who support him into social activists, if fleetingly. Many knelt, locked arms or released statements in support of their players. Such displays of sideline strength could buy the NFL some goodwill among the growing segment of its fan base turned off by concerns about the CTE crisis and the league's handling of domestic-violence cases involving its players. While those owners may have recognized the value of the gesture, none have been willing to risk the blowback of signing Kaepernick, who is widely considered to be more talented than many other backup quarterbacks in the league.

Even on an extraordinary Sunday, however, the NFL was far from unified: overall, just 12% of players knelt on Sept. 24, according to an ESPN estimate. As his teammates protested, Broncos defensive end Derek Wolfe told the network that he thought the display was disrespectful to military veterans. "The greatest country in the world, and you reside here," Wolfe said. "Why do you stay?"

The divide is a reminder of how differently people see the American condition. It's also notable that few, if any, prominent white NFL players, such as Tom Brady, Aaron Rodgers or JJ Watt, have taken a knee, though Brady called Trump's remarks "divisive" and all three linked arms with teammates. Such a move could send a powerful message to white America that black players are fighting for issues that matter to everyone.

"When somebody with that huge a name uses a platform to fight for a cause, it moves mountains," says Miami Dolphins safety Michael Thomas, a Stanford graduate who knelt during the anthem throughout the 2016 season but has not been repeating the gesture this year. "It just can't be black players. If we get more of our NFL bothers who are white, the narrative is going to change. It's that simple."

The protests, if they continue, should spark other conversations, not only about race, justice and inequality but also about how to respond to a President with a knack for choosing battles that benefit him, no matter how divisive. As has often been the case, Trump turned a protest with specific goals—from racial equality to criminal-justice reform—into a referendum on the President himself.

"The most frustrating thing is that people weren't kneeling because they believe police brutality is too high or because of racial inequality," says Nate Boyer, a former Green Beret and NFL long snapper whose conversations with Kaepernick helped coax the quarterback to kneel rather than sit in protest. "They took a knee because they don't like Donald Trump. We're now equating the American flag with a person—not the 300 million diverse people it's supposed to represent."

It is a talent that Trump's foes have come to appreciate. "He does a good job of picking his opponents," says Terry Sullivan, a Republican consultant who managed Marco Rubio's presidential campaign. "That is his gift: he has a unique ability to bring down the discourse and drag down his opponents to his level, so that their arguments seem even more ridiculous than his." As another GOP strategist whose candidate competed against Trump in the 2016 primary frames it: "We were playing on his stage the entire campaign."

Or to put it in football parlance: Trump's playbook is to turn every battle into an away game for his opponents. Until they figure out how to win on Trump's turf, each new provocation by the President is likely to end in a victory for the White House. —*With reporting by* BEN GOLDBERGER/NEW YORK; *and* PHILIP ELLIOTT *and* ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON

Finding Home

This year TIME is following three refugee families fleeing the war in Syria. Each began 2017 with a new baby, in a transit camp in Greece.

PROMISE

D LAND

IS ANGELA MERKEL'S GERMANY REALLY THE PARADISE REFUGEES BELIEVE IT TO BE?

BY ARYN BAKER/BERLIN
PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR TIME

Nour Altallaa, her husband Yousef Alarsan and their daughter Rahaf explore their new home in a camp near Bad Berleburg, Germany, on July 19

IN THE SUMMER OF 2015, A CURIOUS piece of world news brought a flicker of hope to the wretched Syrian city of Palmyra. Islamic State fighters had taken over the ancient town, toppling its monuments and executing anyone who resisted their draconian rules. And yet at one of the city's darkest moments, rumors of a sanctuary far away began to filter in, generating dreams among a populace that had already lost everything. On Aug. 31 of that year, German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared that her country was prepared to take in hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing war in the Middle East. "We can do this," she said in a speech in Berlin, calling it a "national duty" to support those in danger. Across Syria, preoccupations with the civil war gave way to fantasies of an unlikely new promised land: the Germany of Mama Merkel.

The Chancellor suddenly became a positive punch line to dark jokes about Syrians' futures, says Yehiya Mohammad, a driver from Palmyra who at the time had just been released from one of Syrian President Bashar Assad's notorious prisons. "People would be talking to each other … One would suggest, 'Just go.' 'Go where?' 'Go to Mama Merkel—she's accepting everyone.'"

As the war eviscerated what was left of Syria's schools and hospitals, many Syrians like Mohammad realized that they had no choice but to leave if they wanted their children to have a future. Taimaa Abazli, a 25-year-old ethereal beauty from

The anti-immigrant party Alternative for Germany, which won almost 13% of the vote in the Sept. 24 elections, has distanced itself from far-right protests like this one held in Berlin on Sept. 9

Idlib, had just found out she was pregnant with her second child when she and her family decided to flee. Facebook posts from friends who had already arrived in Germany boasted that their children were enrolled in school and fluent in German. A former music teacher, she was desperate to put her son in school, and she was encouraged by stories of how Germans accepted veiled women. "Because there are many Muslims there, people don't mind the hijab," she says. "They don't look at it as something strange."

By early 2016, Taimaa and her husband Mohannad had scraped together enough money to pay a smuggler to get the family to Greece. From there, she figured, they could travel by train and on foot to Germany, like hundreds of thousands of Syrians before them.

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, more than 1 million refugees and asylum seekers have arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany. About half, mostly from Syria, have been granted the right to stay and be resettled across the nation. They are trying to mix in a culture that is famously homogenized, orderly and keenly aware of its unwelcoming past. The *Willkommenskultur* (welcome culture) that led refugees to pawn wedding rings to pay for perilous Mediterranean crossings and families to become indebted to smugglers promising passage across closed borders hasn't always been matched by a genuine welcome upon arrival. Although the number of asylum seekers reaching Germany has declined by two-thirds since 2015, federal and state agencies tasked with processing their arrival are still swamped. As a result, most refugees now spend months languishing in temporary camps where they are denied the very elements—school enrollment, formal language courses, job training—that made Germany's integration program so successful at the start. "We have become too much of an object on which migrants from all over the world pin their longings," admits Joachim Stamp, minister for refugees and integration in the state of North Rhine–Westphalia. "That is something that we can view positively, but it must also be clear that people don't automatically embark on a life of bliss the moment they touch German soil."

Meanwhile, the arrival of all these newcomers has had a powerful effect on German politics. And the court system is so overwhelmed by appeals to asylum rejections that it is struggling to process legitimate deportation orders. One who slipped through the net was Anis Amri, a 24-year-old rejected asylum seeker from Tunisia, who plowed a stolen truck through a Berlin Christmas market in December, killing 12.

Far-right parties in Germany seized on the incident as a rallying cry against Merkel's refugee policies, and in national elections on Sept. 24, the anti-immigrant,

'GO TO MAMA MERKEL—SHE'S ACCEPTING EVERYONE.'

Berlin's Tempelhof refugee shelter, on the site of a former airport south of the city center, is Germany's largest, with room to accommodate as many as 7,000 people

LYNSEY ADDARIO—VERBATIM FOR TIME

Euroskeptic party Alternative for Germany (AfD) did better than anticipated, coming in third place with 12.6% of the vote. For the first time since World War II, the shrill voices of far-right nationalism will be heard in Parliament. Merkel's Christian Democratic Union still came in first, with 32.9% of the vote, but it was down from 41.5% in the previous election. Georg Pazderski, leader of the AfD Berlin city chapter, credits his party's success with voter dissatisfaction over Merkel's refugee policies. "I think the refugee crisis is certainly one of the reasons that our popularity rose," he told TIME before the election. Merkel may still be in charge, but the culture in Germany is becoming far less welcoming.

THE GERMAN DREAM of Taimaa Abazli didn't turn out as she expected. By the time her family reached Greece, in March 2016, the borders to northern Europe had been closed under the pressure of so many would-be German asylum seekers. For more than a year, the family was trapped in Greek refugee camps while European leaders devised a plan to more fairly distribute the burden of asylum seekers across the Continent.

For the past year, TIME has been following Taimaa and her family as they navigate the bewildering maze of the European asylum system in search of a home. When her daughter Heln was born, on Sept. 13, 2016, Taimaa was still living in a tent. The only thing that got her through that experience, she says, was the dream of going to Germany. She imagined that by her daughter's first birthday the family would be settled in a home there. Instead, in April 2017, they were sent to Estonia, along with four other Syrian families, including Yehiya Mohammad's. Being sent to Estonia, says Taimaa, was "a punch to the stomach."

So they left after only a few weeks, capitalizing on cheap bus fares and Europe's open borders to try their luck in Germany. They were not alone. Yehiya's family, along with the three others, left too. In tearing up their Estonian residency papers, the refugees gave up free housing, generous welfare benefits, language lessons, schooling, job training and a fast track to citizenship—all that to go back to square one in Germany. To Taimaa, the chance was worth the risk. "I lived in a tent, I gave birth, and then I returned to the tent," she says. "It was dirty and disgusting. I suffered all this in order to get to Germany. That was my goal."

Now the Abazli family is in Germany and once again in a refugee camp, this one about two hours from Frankfurt. Because they were granted refugee status in a European safe haven, Germany has denied their claims for asylum. So they spend their minuscule camp stipends on lawyers' fees to appeal the rejections, in the hope of finding a sympathetic judge and staving off deportation back to Estonia. Despite the discomfort of camp life and the constant uncertainty, Taimaa says she made the right decision, even if it meant giving up her baby daughter's first chance to live in a real home.

It wasn't until I spent the Muslim holiday of 'Id al-Adha with Nour Altallaa, another new Syrian mother whose story I'd been following as part of the Finding Home project, that I began to understand

that decision. Nour, like Taimaa, gave birth to her daughter while living in a Greek refugee camp. But she and her husband Yousef Alarsan were lucky enough to win the equivalent of the refugee lottery: relocation to Germany. This year, for the first time since the Syrian war split them apart nearly five years ago, the young couple was able to reunite with close family members over an 'Id meal at a cousin's apartment in Gelsenkirchen, near Essen.

It was a scene of familial chaos familiar to anyone who has been to a big Thanksgiving dinner. Doting aunts passed babies from lap to lap as a gaggle of toddlers tore through the crowded living room, pausing only to swipe Syrian sweets from a coffee table. A popular Arabic music video played on the large-screen TV. Nour surveyed the scene with a wide smile. "This is the reason why all the refugees want to come to Germany," she said over the din. "Because so many of our people are already here."

But as the numbers of refugees have grown, so has Germany's anti-immigrant sentiment. Some of Nour's relations say they are frequently harassed for wearing their headscarves in public. There have been cases reported in the media of German doctors refusing to treat refugees and of teachers who won't accept Syrian children. Overall, hate crimes against refugees have trebled since 2015, according to Anetta Kahane, chair of the Amadeu Antonio Foundation, a civil-society organization that tracks hate crimes and intolerance in Germany.

In the run-up to the September elections, far-right parties like the AfD used anti-Muslim rhetoric to rally support. One campaign poster featured a pair of scantily clad women with the slogan BURQAS? WE PREFER BIKINIS. It was clear that the campaign was designed to provoke a reaction as much as it was to gain votes: the posters were most prevalent in heavily migrant neighborhoods, hardly the AfD's target population.

Two weeks before the elections, a gathering of neo-fascist and white-supremacist groups held a protest in Berlin. About 500 black-clad neo-Nazis, pierced and tattooed punks, flag-waving middle-aged white men and older couples marched past Parliament. The event's theme was "Merkel Must Go," but the anti-immigrant subtext was clear.

'I SUFFERED ALL THIS TO GET TO GERMANY. THAT WAS MY GOAL.'

Speakers urged the crowd in English to "make Germany great again" by sending immigrants "back to where they came from." One man held a placard with a photo of a blond toddler surrounded by black children, captioned GERMANY IN 2030. He refused to be interviewed or photographed, calling TIME's journalists "*Lügenpresse,*" a Nazi-era epithet used to denounce the media.

Although the AfD tries to distance itself from such groups, the party's appearance on the national stage is likely to embolden similar demonstrations, now that these groups feel their causes have an ear in Parliament. Political analysts caution that while they may be loud, their numbers are still small—especially when compared with the 9 million Germans involved in donation, volunteer or NGO efforts to help refugees, according to a report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Still, a pro-refugee counterrally held the same day in Berlin saw a far smaller turnout, and there are other indications that the country as a whole is shifting its opinion on the newcomers. In one recent survey, more than half the respondents said refugee children should not immediately receive the same opportunities as German children.

The opportunities for refugees are not as commonplace as the far right—or the refugees themselves—might assume. Employers in the health care, transport and hospitality industries are desperate for workers to take the jobs that few Germans want, but stringent language requirements mean that most refugees must spend up to a year studying before they can even start looking for employment. According to the Federal Employment Agency, only 9% of the newly arrived refugees have found jobs.

Barbara John of the social-welfare organization Der Paritätische, which runs job fairs for refugees, agrees that learning

Taimaa Abazli celebrates the first birthday of her daughter Heln in a refugee camp in Kusel, Germany, on Sept. 13; she and her husband Mohannad were denied asylum in Germany but are appealing the ruling

German is vital. But she believes that the focus on courses is a barrier to employment and refugee integration. Learning on the job could be just as effective, John argues, and it would help counter far-right rhetoric that refugees come to Germany only to take advantage of the welfare system. "They don't come here for the welfare state, but by stopping them

from working for the six to nine months it takes to learn German, we accustom them to it," she says.

Yet to Nour's husband Yousef, the lengthy integration period is a boon for displaced people looking to start over again, and one of the reasons so many people want to come to Germany. "It's not an immediate push to go to work," he says. "It helps refugees stand on their feet, and then it offers them jobs. This is why refugees prefer Germany."

TAIMAA ABAZLI achieved her dream of celebrating her daughter's first birthday in Germany, to a certain extent. There were no cousins darting around stealing candy, but there was cake and little foil tiaras for the guests, fellow refugees from Azerbaijan, Afghanistan and Iraq, all living in the camp Taimaa and Mohannad call home. They understand that Germany is not a paradise. But they chafe at the idea that when it comes to where they will build their life and raise their children, they have no choice in the matter. After all, Mama Merkel invited them to Germany, not Estonia. But Stamp, of the state ministry for migrants, holds that while asylum from war and persecution is a human right, "there is no human right to choose the area where one gets that protection."

Migration experts suggest that one solution to so-called asylum shopping is to require that all E.U. member states offer the same package of benefits, from housing to welfare payments. But that overlooks the intangibles that mark the difference between a temporary refuge and a home. "In Germany, you know that some people hate you," Taimaa says. "But the government and the country want you there. You feel protected." —*With reporting by* SIMON SHUSTER *and* NATALIJA MILETIC/BERLIN; FRANCESCA TRIANNI *and* LAMIS ALJASEM/GELSENKIRCHEN; *and* ABEER ALBADAWI/KUSEL □

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'I DON'T REALLY GET TRIGGERED ANYMORE, BECAUSE I DON'T ALLOW MYSELF TO GET TRIGGERED.' —PAGE 54

New York the hard way: Pernell Walker, James Franco and Maggie Gyllenhaal in The Deuce

PAUL SCHIRALDI—HBO

TELEVISION

Porn, prostitutes and heart on HBO's *The Deuce*

By Daniel D'Addario

PRESTIGE TELEVISION IS, IN THE main, notable for its seriousness of purpose and for its grimness. But what's most exciting about HBO's new drama *The Deuce* may well be its lightness.

Which isn't to say the series isn't ambitious. The show is set in early-1970s Times Square and assays the lives and livelihoods of bartenders, prostitutes, pimps and cops at a time when the concept of propriety had long since fallen away. Given that setup, *The Deuce* would have to get a lot of things right in order to avoid cliché and keep viewers interested. And it does. David Simon and George Pelecanos, frequent collaborators who worked together on HBO's *The Wire* and *Treme,* have conjured up an immersive world that's credible because it doesn't feel like pure history. Characters on *The Deuce* speak with a brisk frankness that's often absent elsewhere on TV; that makes it seem like real life.

The story begins with a pair of twins, both played by James Franco: Vincent is "good," and Frankie is "bad." This would be facile if it weren't for the fact that the good twin isn't all that good. Vincent ditches his wife in order to immerse himself in making his business a success. Meanwhile, Frankie, a gambler, gets tangled up with the mob but also seems equipped to deal with it, fluent in the language of intimidation. (If Franco's twins are referenced by the show's title, it's only a secondary meaning; "the Deuce" is local argot for the seedy stretch of West 42nd Street.)

Franco's celebrity can distract from his talent. But his double performance

here is virtuosic. He's matched in intensity and commitment by Maggie Gyllenhaal as Eileen, a prostitute who proudly works without a pimp. No one's taking a cut, but no one's protecting her either. And we gradually learn just how violent her clients can be.

Gyllenhaal, whose sad-eyed melancholy has moved Hollywood to offer her some unfulfilling, underwritten parts, here goes wildly beyond the trope of hooker-with-a-heart-of-gold. A lot of that is in Gyllenhaal's performance, which shows tenderness under the carapace of street talk (and a wig collection). And a bit more is in the story, which plunges Eileen into the heart of the burgeoning moviemaking industry that, soon enough, will make a star of Linda Lovelace and an international headline out of *Deep Throat*.

Over and over in its eight-episode first season, *The Deuce* brings to mind the 1997 film *Boogie Nights,* which similarly investigates how a shameless attitude toward sex can become a joyless job requirement. But on HBO, conversations between streetwalkers at the corner that use the same tone as watercooler gossip tell us all we need to know. Characters are neither liberated nor oppressed by selling themselves; it's just a decision they made a long time ago, one supported by a market.

This sort of plainspokenness seems out of place in a TV landscape where operatic morality tales are in vogue. HBO's last attempt at a period drama, last year's *Vinyl,* placed its characters in Grand Guignol situations and passed judgment on their appetites. Elsewhere, big-in-every-sense dramas like *This Is Us* and *The Handmaid's Tale* strain for striking, provocative moments at the expense of recognizable humanity. Many of these kinds of dramas strive to get our attention by prioritizing lurid outsizeness over character.

But *The Deuce* never loses sight of the human, a Simon signature. For all the drama of its plot, it consistently lets us learn about its characters gradually and in relation to one another. The show, which HBO recently announced will get a second season, manages to explore an entire gray-market economy through the eyes of its participants. It's a triumph and, better yet, a pleasure. ▯

Adlon's Sam is turning into one of the most nuanced characters on TV

TELEVISION

All happy families, alike

FOR SOMEONE WHO ROSE TO prominence thanks to the power of her voice, Pamela Adlon is remarkable at being silent. The actor, who won an Emmy for voicing preteen Bobby on *King of the Hill* and has been a key creative force on *Louie,* brings her whole self to *Better Things,* now in its second season on FX. And while the series will get your attention for the antic comic sensibility—Adlon's character Sam, a single mom, is besieged by the demands of her family—it's in the quiet moments where the show finds a center not quite like anything else currently on the air.

CASUAL CROSSOVER
On *Better Things,* Adlon plays an actor who appears on FX's *Louie*—a program for which she writes in real life

Since the first season, Sam, always under a fair amount of strain, has grown more frustrated. Her three kids (Mikey Madison, Hannah Alligood and Olivia Edward) are growing into further moodiness and her mother (Celia Imrie) into further senescence. Sam's not afraid to unload: yelling at a date whom she's slept with but doesn't really like, botching a weekend away with a man she seems to like a bit more. As a performer, Adlon can play many notes. But she tends to like discordant ones. Crucially, it's men for whom she saves her deepest ire. No matter how challenging her relationships with her children or mother are, they're also sustaining.

Better Things seems to have shed any extant similarities to *Louie,* the other parenting-centric FX comedy, whose creator, Louis CK, produces the show. By developing a far more nuanced understanding of family life, *Better Things* has become entirely its own thing. Directing every episode and grounding its complex emotional beats with a thought-through performance, Adlon comes as close to a pure auteur as TV gets. That her story is one imbued with both sadness and light makes *Better Things* one of television's very best shows—in any genre.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

BETTER THINGS. YOU'RE THE WORST: FX; THIS IS US, THE GOOD PLACE: NBC; DESIGNATED SURVIVOR, BLACK-ISH, SCANDAL: ABC; RIVERDALE: THE CW; OUTLANDER: SONY PICTURES TELEVISION; SURVIVOR: CBS; TOP OF THE LAKE: SUNDANCETV; BOJACK HORSEMAN: NETFLIX; NEW GIRL: FOX; THE MINDY PROJECT: HULU

GUIDE

Returning TV that deserves a second chance

By Eliana Dockterman

LIKE A LOT OF SECOND-SEASON SHOWS, *THIS IS US* IS out to prove that there's a reason to keep tuning in. "This season is informed by death and darkness," says showrunner Dan Fogelman. "But we're taking great pains to ensure that ultimately this is an uplifting season because that's our life philosophy." He's not the only one trying to add new depth to a series this fall—here's a closer look:

THIS IS US

The **NBC** drama that once seemed like a kitschy tearjerker has developed into an Emmy-worthy series

SECOND SEASON

DESIGNATED SURVIVOR

The **ABC** show is ditching its many twists for a more grounded, timely approach to politics, à la *The Good Wife*

RIVERDALE

The CW's addictive *Twin Peaks*–meets–*Gossip Girl* series leans in to its camp as it resolves a massive cliffhanger

THE GOOD PLACE

NBC's life-after-death spectacle could have been gimmicky, but a first-season twist boosted its IQ considerably

BETTER WITH AGE

OUTLANDER

The lovers in **Starz**'s historic drama must travel across an ocean—and two centuries—before they can reunite

SURVIVOR

The long-running **CBS** reality show has become more inclusive (and more sensitive) than its peers

BLACK-ISH

The **ABC** family comedy has always been deep, but the Trump era has given its writers a host of new issues to tackle

UNDER THE RADAR

TOP OF THE LAKE

The Aussie export on **Sundance** gets gritty as a detective (Elisabeth Moss) investigates an illegal surrogacy ring

BOJACK HORSEMAN

With a new focus on family, the **Netflix** cartoon about a washed-up sitcom actor is as emotionally ambitious as ever

YOU'RE THE WORST

The current season on **FXX** breaks new ground by splitting up its insufferable (but lovable) central couple

THE END IS NIGH

SCANDAL

D.C. fixer Olivia Pope is told in the final season of **ABC**'s twisty drama that she can't have it all. Her reply? "Watch me."

NEW GIRL

The **Fox** sitcom evaded will-they-won't-they cliché. The question now: Will Jess and Nick bend to convention in the end?

THE MINDY PROJECT

It's time to find out if the rom-com-obsessed doctor on Mindy Kaling's **Hulu** show even wants a happily-ever-after

MOVIES

Gyllenhaal only gets *Stronger*

"BOSTON STRONG" MAY have been the slogan that city needed in the wake of the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing. But slogans mean nothing in the face of life-changing trauma, an idea that vibrates through Jake Gyllenhaal's agile, unnerving performance in David Gordon Green's *Stronger.* Gyllenhaal plays Jeff Bauman, a real-life marathon spectator who lost both legs in the attack. The day he shows up to watch his ex-girlfriend cross the finish line (she's played, with steel-spined grace, by Tatiana Maslany) becomes the day that forever changes his notion of what it means to step up to the plate, for himself or for anyone else.

Green's film has a tense, nervy energy, most of which seems to glow from Gyllenhaal's very core. In one scene, his anguished, hesitant cries give us a sense of how painful it is after an amputation to have your dressings removed. There's both wildness and weakness in him, an unruly combination that we usually call courage, only because we don't have a better word for it. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

Gyllenhaal as survivor Bauman: The first step is the hardest, closely followed by the second

Cruise and Wright: a drug smuggler builds a life for his family, one kilo at a time

MOVIES

Cruise, the smuggest of drug smugglers

THE TRADEMARK TOM CRUISE CHARACTER IS THE cat that eats the canary, looks around to make sure everyone knows how awesome he is for getting away with eating said canary—and then eats 10 more. Cruise was practically born to star in Doug Liman's *American Made* as Barry Seal, a onetime TWA pilot from Louisiana who smuggled drugs for the Medellín cartel before becoming a DEA informant. In real life, Seal got away with all kinds of audaciousness, though the odds did catch up with him: he was murdered, in 1986, by Medellín assassins.

In *American Made,* Barry gets away with even more. We watch as he goes to work for the CIA—his handler is a classically inscrutable government foot soldier played by Domhnall Gleeson—then enters a deal with a wily Pablo Escobar henchman (Alejandro Edda). Before long he's diverting guns meant for Nicaraguan *contras* to Colombian drug lords, grinning all the way. Once in a while, he expresses vague worries about the safety of his family, including multiple tykes and his seemingly smart but still inexplicably loyal wife Lucy (Sarah Wright).

Cruise plays Barry as an aw-shucks raconteur, and the routine is amusing at first. But midway through *American Made,* even Cruise devotees might decide enough is enough. At one point, Barry gets thrown in a scary Latin American jail and loses a tooth along the way, his temporary jack-o'-lantern smile shining like a beacon of human vulnerability. Cruise lets us have a laugh over it, but that tooth gets fixed pretty fast. We're allowed to laugh with him, not at him. In the Cruise universe, our job is to admire. —S.Z.

TAPPED OUT Ace pilot and '80s drug smuggler Adler Berriman "Barry" Seal, the real-life inspiration for *American Made,* often conducted business from pay phones—which is how the FBI eventually caught him.

STRONGER: SCOTT GARFIELD—LIONSGATE/ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS; AMERICAN MADE: DAVID JAMES—UNIVERSAL PICTURES (2)

MOVIES

A sublime farewell to Stanton in *Lucky*

HARRY DEAN STANTON, WHO DIED ON Sept. 15 at age 91, always looked a little old and a little young. He had one of those no-age faces, so radiant in its ragged beauty that assigning a number to it always felt thankless, if not outright wrong. In *Lucky,* one of his final films—the feature directorial debut of actor John Carroll Lynch *(Shutter Island, Gran Torino)*—he plays a man living quietly but mindfully in a small desert town. Lucky's day starts with a few cigarettes and a yoga interlude, segues into breakfast with a crossword puzzle at the diner and ends with a drink down at the bar, where his friends include an elegant, vaguely forlorn-looking geezer named Howard (David Lynch, quixotic and marvelous).

Howard is mourning the departure of his elderly pet tortoise, who sneaked out and never returned. Lucky comforts Howard almost without shifting his expression. In this role, as with so many characters of his—the amnesiac wanderer in *Paris, Texas,* the deadpan-philosophical car repossessor in *Repo Man*—Stanton's gifts prove to be the quiet kind. He doesn't show emotion; it's incandescent within him, like a night-light.

A VETERAN ACTOR
Stanton, like his character Lucky, was a World War II Navy veteran. He was a crew member aboard a tank-landing ship in the Battle of Okinawa.

Lucky was written by Logan Sparks and Drago Sumonja specifically for Stanton, and director Lynch and cinematographer Tim Suhrstedt do him justice in every frame. Even as we watch, Stanton's face seems to melt into the landscape around him, a kingdom of cacti reaching toward the sky with tiers of sheltering mountains in the distance. One of the movie's finest lines of dialogue is one that Stanton's Lucky shrugs off when, on his walk home after breakfast, he stops at the convenience store for his customary carton of milk. He chats for a minute with the friendly proprietor before taking his leave: "Well, I gotta go, my shows are on." You may have heard of the Irish goodbye, or the French exit: the practice of leaving a party swiftly and quietly. This is the Stanton goodbye. If only every actor we loved could leave us with a farewell film like this one. —S.Z.

Role of a lifetime: The character of Lucky was written for Stanton

LUCKY: MAGNOLIA PICTURES; EX LIBRIS: ZIPPORAH FILMS; RATS: MEMORY; MANOLO: MUSIC BOX FILMS

MOVIES

Books, rats and elegant shoes

Three documentaries out now that deserve to be on your radar. —S.Z.

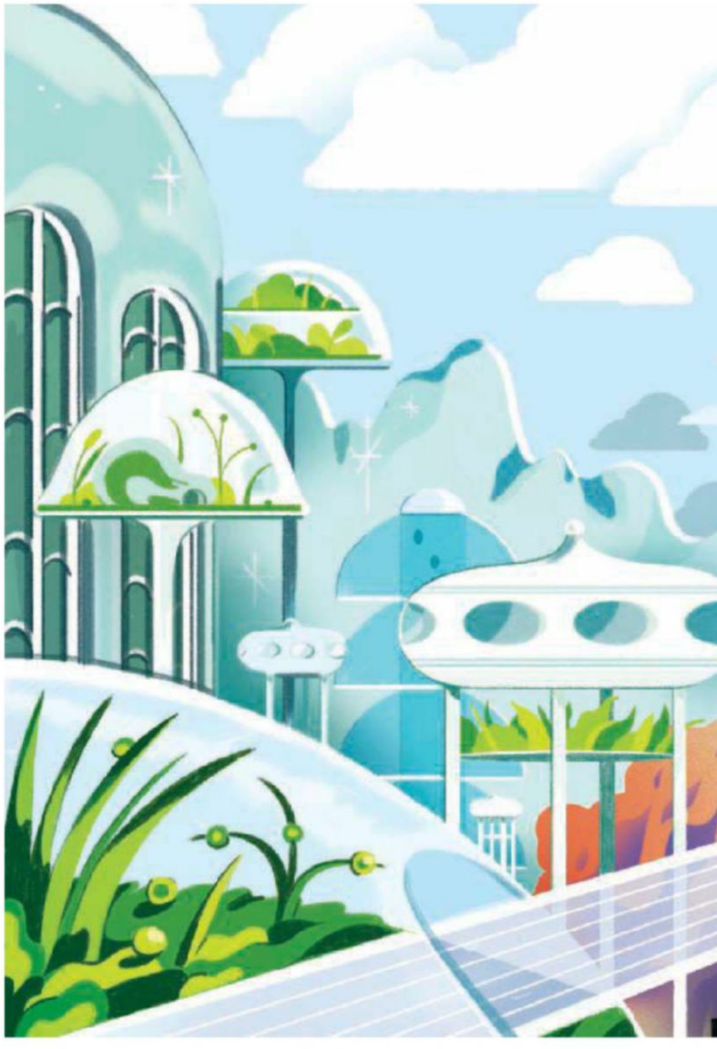
IN THE STACKS
With *Ex Libris: New York Public Library,* prolific 87-year-old filmmaker Frederick Wiseman trains his ultra-perceptive lens on the NYPL system, an organism that makes New Yorkers' lives better in ways big and small.

OF RATS AND MEN
The rat-phobic may shy away. But Theo Anthony's *Rat Film* is as much about a city—specifically, Baltimore—as it is about rodents. It's a sympathetic, if sometimes disturbing, look at how rats and humans get along. Or don't.

THE ART OF THE HEEL
Michael Roberts' *Manolo: The Boy Who Made Shoes for Lizards,* a portrait of high-heel maestro Manolo Blahnik, is pure delight for anyone who cares about shoes or about the intricacies of true craftsmanship.

Paradise lost: The mysterious case of the missing utopian novels

By Sarah Begley



IN THE PAST 100 YEARS, TECHNOLOGY HAS MADE OUR lives easier, safer, healthier and longer. So why does most of our science fiction spell doom and gloom instead of hope and cheer?

Pessimistic fiction has thrived in recent years. Emily St. John Mandel was a National Book Award finalist for 2014's *Station Eleven,* about a theater troupe in a postapocalyptic America. And dystopian novels like Lidia Yuknavitch's *The Book of Joan* and Omar El Akkad's *American War*—not to mention classics like George Orwell's *1984* and Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*—have recently graced best-seller lists. In August, N.K. Jemisin won her second Hugo Award, for *The Obelisk Gate;* its level of optimism can be gauged by the name of the series it belongs to, the Broken Earth. One finalist for the prize, Becky Chambers' space opera *A Closed and Common Orbit,* did depict an intergalactic society living in relative peace. But the earthlings in the story are very much the negative example, having fled to outer space after destroying their home planet. As yet, we're still awaiting a standout, literary version of *The Jetsons,* serene in its technological speculation.

THOMAS MORE COINED the word *utopia* in the book of the same name in 1516. Utopianism peaked 300 years later, according to Chris Jennings, author of *Paradise Now: The Story of American Utopianism.* "The surge of technology that we call the Industrial Revolution produced this optimism, partly because they just simply hadn't seen it play out very far," he says. Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), for instance, imagined a future with short workweeks, full retirement at age 45 and instantaneous delivery of goods. As machines arrived that could do the work of 100 people in the same amount of time, it was reasonable to conclude that in the near future, people would labor less and reap more abundance. Yet a century and a half later, we've seen a sharp spike in productivity "without a commensurate drop in labor and poverty," Jennings says. As a result, "we no longer see technology as this magic panacea for the world's ills."

> 'Still, I bet Dante wondered why the *Inferno* was the big hit, rather than *Paradiso*!'
>
> **ADAM JOHNSON,** Pulitzer Prize–winning author of *The Orphan Master's Son*

In fact, many have come to see it as pernicious. "Technology has made life easier," Mandel concedes, "but I think it's also made life more ghostly. There's a sense of disconnection and distractedness that's come alongside the incredible benefits that we've gained from technology." Some writers may want to examine those small cracks in human connection by magnifying them to a greater degree, even while hoping that that magnification doesn't play out in real life. "Through stories, you can come to know loss without having to lose anything and therefore more highly prize what you have," says Adam Johnson, Pulitzer Prize–winning author of *The Orphan Master's Son.* "Still, I bet Dante wondered why the *Inferno* was the big hit, rather than *Paradiso*!"

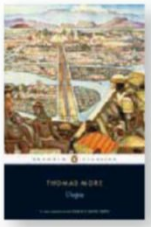
One obvious roadblock to writing good utopian fiction is that perfect societies are, well, perfect—meaning they don't leave much room for narrative tension. While, as Mandel observes, "if you write a story set in a dystopian setting, there's kind of automatic, built-in drama."

One author who has chosen to

ILLUSTRATION BY REBEKKA DUNLAP FOR TIME

walk the line between potential positive and negative technological outcomes is Daniel Suarez, a futurist with a following in Silicon Valley. He describes the world of his most recent book, *Change Agent,* as a near future where widespread black-market genetic editing has created serious problems. "But it is also a world where countless heritable genetic disorders have been cured and where both industry and agriculture are being made environmentally sustainable," he says. "Is that a dystopia? Is that a utopia? Is it a mixture of both? I think the future will look very much like the present in that there will be both good aspects and bad aspects, and our challenge is to navigate the best path between the two." □

FIVE CLASSIC UTOPIAN NOVELS



***UTOPIA* (1516)**
BY THOMAS MORE

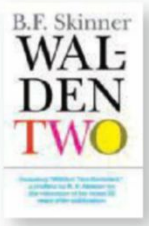
Most of this classic novel consists of a secondhand account of the isle of Utopia, where no one is exempt from work, but labor is limited to six hours a day and resources are shared. Although it relies on little technological advancement, it provided a formula for the rest of the utopian genre.

***THE BLAZING WORLD* (1666)**
BY MARGARET CAVENDISH

A young maiden drifts astray on a lifeboat near the North Pole, only to find herself transported to another world, where she is crowned empress and abolishes all forms of war and discrimination. When she hears of an attack on her home country of England, she uses a fleet of submarines to defeat the invaders.

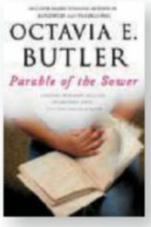
***LOOKING BACKWARD* (1888)**
BY EDWARD BELLAMY

The protagonist of this novel falls asleep in 1887 and wakes up, Rip van Winkle–like, after a 113-year nap. The year 2000 brings not only early retirement and quick delivery, but also credit cards that provide equal credit to all citizens and a justice system that treats crime as a medical issue.



***WALDEN TWO* (1948)**
BY B.F. SKINNER

Like their utopian forebears, the behaviorally engineered denizens of *Walden Two* get short workdays—as well as the option to pick a new place to work each day. Although outside visitors are dubious of the society's perfection, they never find a definitive crack in the facade.



***PARABLE OF THE SOWER* (1993)**
BY OCTAVIA E. BUTLER

A more ambiguous novel for the genre, its story begins in the 2020s in a dystopian U.S. brought low by climate change and corruption. A young woman invents a belief system and accrues followers to plan for a new ideal society, which they hope to establish on other planets.

Gaga announced on Sept. 18 that she was postponing her European tour to cope with her chronic pain

DOCUMENTARY

Lady Gaga, brought low

GAGA: FIVE FOOT TWO, A BACKSTAGE DOCUMENTARY now streaming on Netflix, is without much precedent. Films of its sort are generally lionizing, made at career high points. But *Five Foot Two,* directed by Chris Moukarbel *(Banksy Does New York),* shows Lady Gaga at a professional and personal low. It tracks the creation, release and promotion of her latest album, *Joanne,* even as that process is vexed by both medical ailments and a marketplace that's cooling on Gaga.

The star's last solo album, *Artpop,* was deemed a commercial and creative disappointment. So her desperation is evident when Gaga arrives at a Walmart to buy *Joanne* on the night of its release. She wants to be recognized by the store's employees and to be seen being recognized by them. The anxiety here is expressed inadvertently, but elsewhere Moukarbel understands that she is struggling.

The film comes out about a decade into Gaga's career, roughly when Madonna appeared in her own documentary, *Truth or Dare.* From the start, Gaga, another ambitious and ideology-driven Italian American, has been compared to the "Like a Prayer" singer. Other recent pop documentaries, like Beyoncé's *Life Is But a Dream* and *Katy Perry: Part of Me,* stuck to Madonna's playbook, spotlighting highs upon highs. But *Five Foot Two* is remarkable because it is centered around a personality whose need to be seen and understood runs up against implacable realities. By documenting a period that other artists might have kept hidden, it far exceeds the musical era it depicts. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

QUICK TALK

Demi Lovato

The 25-year-old's sixth album, Tell Me You Love Me, *comes out on Sept. 29. The artist, who has publicly battled mental-health issues and substance abuse, will also release a tell-all documentary about the making of the record in October.*

What did you want to say with your new album? I wanted this album to be more soulful, because I feel like it's more authentic to who I am as an artist and as a person. I wanted my sound to mature. I feel like I accomplished that.

Do you have a favorite song on it? I don't. That would be like picking a favorite child!

You've advocated for many causes over the past few years, from mental health to politics. What cause is most important to you right now? Something that is important to my heart right now is DACA. I feel like it's terrible that it's being taken away. Also, the racism going on in our country is unbelievable.

You're sober now. You've said you get triggered seeing things like drug use in movies. Does that still happen? Like, I'm not going to watch *Wolf of Wall Street.* There's a ton of cocaine in that movie. I'm just not going to put myself through that. I'm also not gonna put myself in environments where there's a lot of drugs or alcohol around me. But I don't really get triggered anymore, because I don't allow myself to get triggered.

What have you learned from social media? I've learned it's sometimes best to keep certain things to yourself. As much as I would love to comment on people in the news, my opinion of our President doesn't help anybody. When it's something that is right or wrong—like LGBTQ rights—I'm more open and speak up for things I believe in.

What would you be doing if you weren't in show business? I would love to be a detective. —RAISA BRUNER

ON MY RADAR

THE SUBTLE ART OF NOT GIVING A F-CK

"I'm not much of a reader, unless it's a self-help book. But I did love this book. It's on brand for sure."

GAGA: NETFLIX; LOVATO: JON KOPALOFF—FILMMAGIC/GETTY IMAGES

Hey! You! Get off of my cloud! And other tales from the family-data-sharing economy

By Kristin van Ogtrop

THIS MORNING I WENT TO THE GYM, WHICH MEANS THAT sometime after I put on my running tights but before I actually broke a sweat I texted my 19-year-old son the following message: "At gym need music till 10."

Because the sun had been up for only three hours, it's quite possible my college-student son was still sleeping. But I didn't want to take any chances. You see, until you experience it, you can't really understand the unique, hair-on-fire fury you feel when you are a middle-aged woman who has turned the treadmill up to 6.8, meaning you are basically sprinting, but you're listening to Stevie Wonder and feeling really good about your muscle mass, stamina and life in general when—*blip!*—suddenly the music stops and your iPhone screen says, cheerily, "Looks like you're listening on another device." And then, for just an instant, you feel like you could murder one of your children.

Why does my music stop when my son's starts? If I could tell you that, I might be able to correct the problem. Even my smarty-pants digital-native progeny can't quite get to the bottom of it. It has something to do with the cloud and my account and the fact that the children would rather tolerate Cat Stevens' entire *Tea for the Tillerman* on their phones than pay for Apple Music themselves. My husband, sneakily, is not on the cloud I inhabit with the children. Imagine.

IT USED TO BE that I didn't take the step of informing my son when I wanted to listen to music, but that got dangerous the time I was driving on a steep, winding road, headed to an unfamiliar destination, listening to Todd Rundgren and Waze simultaneously, when my son put on his headphones and walked to class. Thus ensued a battle to the musical death, as it were, with me stabbing the Play button on the dashboard every three seconds as he repeatedly stabbed the Play button on his phone. When I wouldn't relent, he started texting me, asking me to surrender. And I couldn't answer the texts because I was driving and not a complete idiot.

So I let him win that battle, but I won the war. I pulled rank: now, when we fight for music, Mom always gets to win.

Remember the old AT&T commercials imploring us to "reach out and touch someone"? Thanks to Apple Music and the cloud, my two older sons and I are touching each other all the time. Which is a good thing, right? The iPhone recently celebrated its 10th anniversary, and in just a decade it has made many things we do much easier—including parenting. But because so much of our kids' lives are now happening on screens small enough to fit in a back pocket, they naturally have become so much more clever in the game of hide-and-seek with Mom and Dad. What happens on the phone stays on the phone, far from prying parental eyes. And so when I discovered I had access to my sons' music, I felt like a spy who had successfully infiltrated an enemy camp. The music they downloaded told me something about them, and revealed how different they are from each other.

BUT AS MY BOYS LEARNED in nursery school, there are good touches and bad touches. Now that the novelty has worn off and my children keep chewing through my iPhone storage with music I don't want, we are entering bad-touch territory. Thanks to our connection, I have entire albums of music on my phone from artists I find depressing (Lana Del Rey) or ridiculous (Mariah Carey), or found unappealing the first time around (Abba). These are overwhelmed by the countless artists I've never heard of (A Boogie Wit Da Hoodie, anyone?). I'm not sure Apple is improving my life by making me feel so old and uncool. And we won't get into the fact that, among the unfamiliar artists, many of them have lyrics so misogynistic that it makes me, the mother of three boys, put my head in my hands and wonder where I have gone wrong.

When I ask my sons why our music is linked and how we might fix it, I half-expect to find myself part of a BuzzFeed list: "10 Incredibly Clueless Texts From Moms: Which One Is Yours?" They are strangely unhelpful with this issue. I suppose it's that, because I am paying the bill, they have little incentive to disconnect. Besides, I'm sure they have removed all of the John Prine I've downloaded by now. Pity.

Van Ogtrop is the author of Just Let Me Lie Down: Necessary Terms for the Half-Insane Working Mom

ILLUSTRATION BY LUCI GUTIÉRREZ FOR TIME

Ellen Pao The former Reddit CEO may have lost her 2015 discrimination suit against venture-capital firm Kleiner Perkins, but she's moving ahead with her mission

You write in your new book, *Reset*, about how Kleiner Perkins tried to get you into arbitration, which would have kept your case private. Why did you say no? Arbitration is generally part of most employee contracts at large companies in most industries. I think it hinders the free flow of information. It's supposed to be designed to allow for faster, cheaper resolution. But it often ends up covering bad behavior. I think we've seen with the revelations at Fox News that persistent harassment was hidden.

Do you worry that encouraging women or minorities to speak up discourages companies from hiring them? That's just a terrible way to run your company. Almost nobody litigates. It's draining financially, psychologically, emotionally and professionally. Betting your company on that 0.01% risk that someone will sue makes no sense.

What would you advise women who experience sexism or harassment in the workplace to do? Get out. These are people who are just not going to accept you. You're not going to get promoted. You don't have to prove yourself because there's no way to do that. If you don't have other opportunities, try to find someone else to work with within the company.

Some people argue that the reason few women make it to the executive level is that they opt out to have kids. Do you think that's true? That has not been my experience. The Kapor Center recently conducted a national study looking at why people leave their tech jobs. The biggest reason was workplace culture. When people hear sexist comments, when they feel they are unfairly critiqued, when they see people being promoted for opportunities they should have been promoted for, they leave. It's not that they suddenly want to be stay-at-home moms. They're just tired of the sexism.

What do you make of a situation like that of Megyn Kelly, where someone endures harassment but moves up the ladder in spite of it? There are times when your best bet is to stay, even if there are problems. Racism and sexism are systemic issues in tech, so there aren't many places you can go where you're not going to encounter some form of them.

What tech companies are succeeding at inclusion? There are no companies that you can call successful—where 50% of the executives are female, where racial diversity reflects the population.

What was your reaction to the Google engineer's memo earlier this year? I was relieved to see the CEO fire him, because when you have somebody in your organization who believes that women are biologically inferior engineers, I don't know how you build an inclusive culture around that. That there are people who continue to believe that women lower the bar is incredibly disappointing but unfortunately not a surprise.

How has society's perception of sexism in tech changed since your case? When I litigated, people didn't believe me. And if you look at the reception of Susan Fowler's blog [on sexism at Uber], there was a belief that this had happened. I think it's because there have been many women and men who have shared their own experiences. Calling out these problems over the past five years has made a difference.

As CEO of Reddit, you shut down some abusive subreddits. Where should social-media sites draw the line between free speech and abuse? The line is clear: when there's behavior that is intended to cause people to be pushed off a platform, your platform is no longer encouraging free speech. The whole concept of free speech is oriented around different voices being able to share and discuss ideas.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

> 'When you have somebody in your organization who believes that women are biologically inferior engineers, I don't know how you build an inclusive culture.'

BRIAN FLAHERTY—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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